The Christian Century

Published Weekly

Dare We Give Thanks?

By James H. Link

Prelude to Tyranny

An Editorial

Masaryk: Teacher of Democracy

By Joseph Miller

Anglo-Catholic Tightrope

By Evelyn A. Cummins

Say It With Riots!

By Harvey Campbell

15 Cents a Copy • November 24, 1937 • Four Dollars a Year

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In This Issue

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who has been the London correspondent of The Christian Century for many years, contributes to this issue an interpretation of Canon Sheppard of St. Paul's in London, whose sudden death several weeks ago brought a sense of tragic loss to thousands on both sides of the Atlantic.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

November 24, 1937

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.56 extra

The Christian Century is indexed in the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* to be found in all libraries

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Calendar of Coming Events

Nov. 1, 1937-Dec. 31, 1938. National Stewardship Campaign.
Nov. 21-24. National Preaching Mission, Quincy, Ill.
Nov. 22. United Stewardship Council Annual Meeting, Philadelphia.
Nov. 26-28. Peoples' Congress for Democracy and Peace, American League Against War and Fascism, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Nov. 28. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Herbert Agar, speaker.
Nov. 28. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall; Solomon Goldman, speaker.
Nov. 29. General Committee on Army and Navy Chaplains, Washington, D. C.
Nov. 29, 30. Annual Meeting, Wisconsin Council of Churches, Y.M.C.A., Madison, Wis.
Nov. 29, 30. Midwest Interracial Conference for Women, North Shore hotel, Evanston, Ill.
Nov. 30. Annual Meeting, Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Zion Lutheran Church, Harrisburg.
Nov. 30-Dec. 3. National Teaching Mission, Philadelphia.
Nov. 30-Dec. 3. Southworth Lectures, Andover Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Mass.; Charles Clayton Morrison, speaker.
Dec. 2. Inter-Council Field Committee, New York City.
Dec. 2-5. National Preaching Mission, Jacksonville, Fla.
Dec. 3. Executive Committee, Federal Council of Churches, New York City.
Dec. 4. Laymen's Retreat, Butler University.
Dec. 4. Foreign Policy Association, Hotel Astor, New York City.
Dec. 5. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall; Norman Thomas, speaker.
Dec. 5. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Max Lerner, speaker.
Dec. 9-15. Educational Council Board of Christian Education, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 10. Department of the Church and Social Service, Federal Council of Churches, New York City.
Dec. 10, 11. Christian Rural Fellowship, New York City.
Dec. 10-13. College of Bishops, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Nashville, Tenn.
Dec. 12. Universal Bible Sunday.
Dec. 12. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Heinz Linemann, speaker.
Dec. 12. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall; William F. Kilpatrick, speaker.
Dec. 12-17. Fifteenth Annual Institute of World Affairs, Beverley Hills, Cal.
Dec. 19. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; David Seabury, speaker.
Dec. 26. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; debate; Horace M. Kallen and Scott Nearing, speakers.
Dec. 26-Jan. 2. Eighth National Convention of Evangelists and Christian Workers, Peoria, Ill.
Dec. 28-30. Presbyterian Youth Convention on World Missions, First Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Ga.
Dec. 28-31. National Methodist Student Conference, St. Louis, Mo.
Jan. 2. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Karin Michaelis, speaker.
Jan. 3-7. Annual Pastors Conference, University of Dubuque, Dubuque, Ia.
Jan. 8. Foreign Policy Association, Hotel Astor, New York City.
Jan. 9. Chicago Sunday Forum, Thorne Hall, Sherwood Eddy, speaker.
Jan. 10-12. Nebraska State Convocation of Ministers, Omaha.
Jan. 10-14. Ministers' Week, Emory University, Ga.
Jan. 11-14. General Missionary Council, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Savannah, Ga.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LIV CHICAGO, NOVEMBER 24, 1937 NUMBER 47

EDITORIAL

IF ANY DELEGATES went to the Brussels conference believing that Japan would respond favorably to an appeal to reason—as Mr. Norman H. Davis, the leader of the American delegation, intimated he hoped might happen—they know better now. The Japanese reply to the second and special invitation to talk the whole matter over with a small group of the powers was about as brusque as could be contrived within the language of diplomacy. Not only did Japan refuse to enter the Brussels conference hall; she refused to entertain the idea of mediation at the hands of *any* outside group of nations. "The imperial government," to quote the Japanese note, "would be glad if the powers . . . should contribute toward stabilization in Eastern Asia in a manner consonant with the realities of the situation." Which came about as near to telling the conference to mind its own business as such a communication could. Having received the Japanese rebuff, all that the conference felt it possible to do was to adopt a statement which reiterated the assertion that Japan's idea of her obligations under the Nine Power treaty differed from the ideas of other signatories, and to add: "While hoping Japan will not maintain her refusal the states represented in Brussels must consider what is to be their combined attitude in the situation in which one party to an international treaty maintains against the views of all other parties that the action it has taken does not come within the scope of that treaty." On this exceedingly mild warning, Italy voted no, and the three Scandinavian countries abstained from voting. Whereupon the conference adjourned for another week, probably to give the states represented time to "consider what is to be their combined attitude."

Japan Rebuffs Brussels

China Asks Brussels for International Aid

BEFORE waxing too scornful of the delegates at Brussels for failing to do more than slap Japan lightly on the wrist, consideration should be given the only true alternative to that action which was before them. Fortunately, Dr. Wellington Koo, head of the Chinese delegation, made that alternative clear. "Now that the door has been slammed in your face by the Japanese," Dr. Koo asked, "will you not decide to withhold supplies of war materials and credits from Japan and extend them to China?" This proposal to announce an official government embargo against Japan, while offering direct aid to China, will be cheered in some quarters, but there are many aspects of it which present grave difficulties. For one thing, experience with concerted embargoes, at the time the League of Nations acted in the Ethiopian crisis, did not conduce to a repetition of that experiment. Nor is there any prospect of establishing as tight an embargo "quarantine" around Japan as was, theoretically, thrown about Italy. The other proposal, of direct aid to China, is from a practical standpoint even more baffling. How can it be done? Granted that China could be extended credits to buy war materials in the countries which have condemned Japan, how could these be delivered? Not through Chinese ports, for these are blockaded. Not through Hongkong, for the railways leading from that British port to China proper have been put out of commission by Japanese bombers. Only the merest dribble of material could be brought in by the caravan route from French Indo-China through Yunnan. Not much more could be flown in from Russia. The plain fact is that the powers could not get materials to the Chinese in sufficient amount to stop the Japanese invasion without being ready to break the Japanese blockade, or in other words, to go to war with Japan. Before the Brussels conference is condemned too severely for its feebleness, the ugly reality of this alternative must be taken into account.

Ramsay MacDonald Takes His Place in History

WHEN Ramsay MacDonald dissolved his Labor government in 1931 to become prime minister of a National coalition, it was said in these pages that, instead of having won the great parliamentary victory hailed in most of the press, he had lost. From that time, it was predicted, he would be a prisoner in the Tory camp, despite his outward honors as commanding general. The interpretation was vigorously rejected by some readers, but time

was to prove it all too true. Indeed, there was something so inescapably pathetic about those last years in which Ramsay MacDonald held office that the mind seeks to pass them over as quickly as possible in estimating the importance of his total career. For Mr. MacDonald's career did have genuine and lasting historical importance. As Britain's first Labor prime minister, this Scot who rose from the obscurity of a poverty-stricken boyhood in Lossiemouth is sure of his place in the record of these times. And if objection is made that the two Labor governments accomplished little, while the prime minister himself abandoned his own socialist creed when finally faced with a crisis, may it not be answered that the reason lay in the nature of a problem which no socialist or even radical government holding office in a democracy has so far solved? This is the problem as to what a radical government should do in a crisis when confronted by a majority, or even a sizable minority, of the population opposed to a radical solution. Ramsay MacDonald was only one among many Socialist heads of government who, in the recent history of Europe, have felt it impossible to put into effect their socialist creed at the hour of national crisis. The great days of MacDonald's life were the war days. His stedfast opposition to the war, despite such obloquy as few men experience, revealed his moral stature. He was greater in his hours of seeming adversity than in those of seeming success.

Maritime Commission Reports On Merchant Marine

THE long-heralded report of the Maritime Commission headed by Mr. Joseph P. Kennedy has at last reached Congress and the American public. The report is 600,000 words long. We haven't read it through. As a matter of fact, we haven't even seen a copy. But we have read the summary of the commission's recommendations, as published in New York papers, and we *have* read through, cover to cover, the September number of *Fortune,* which was exclusively devoted to this same subject. What the whole thing boils down to seems to be a series of conclusions much like this: The present state of the American merchant marine is a mess. Ships are rapidly approaching obsolescence. Lines do not make enough money to replace them. (Most lines operate at a loss.) Labor conditions are disgracefully bad. Crews are not amenable to discipline. Owners have exploited crews mercilessly. The thing that needs to be done is to provide legislation, along the lines of the railway labor act, to care for labor troubles; to revamp in certain particulars the ship subsidy act passed last year; to settle down to providing from $15,000,000 to $20,000,000 a year as straight subsidy to keep American merchant ships operating, with another $50,000,000 yearly, or thereabouts, as a subsidy to keep new boats coming off the shipbuilding ways. When the question is raised as to *why* any such expensive program of subsidization should be carried on, with ships in great numbers available to transport our exports as cheaply as in American bottoms, the answer which the Kennedy commission reaches is that the merchant marine may be required by the navy for auxiliary purposes in time of war. All of which would seem to raise the question whether, if this fleet is to be created and kept in service primarily as a part of the national defense, it should not—like the other parts of that defense—be a function of the government. Under any circumstances, the Kennedy report indicates, the government is going to have the privilege of paying for our merchant marine. That being so, why shouldn't the government run it?

Congregationalists Repudiate Babson's Promise

A FEW weeks ago Mr. Roger W. Babson, moderator of the general council of Congregational and Christian Churches, was reported as giving assurance, in an address to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, that America would stand shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain in any war in which the latter might become involved —or perhaps he limited it, implicitly if not explicitly, to a war for the defense of democracy or a war to end war. In any case, he went a long way beyond any authorization from either the general sentiment of the American people, the attitudes of the American churches, or the position of the Congregational and Christian churches which he was representing on that occasion. It was a very immoderate statement for a moderator to make. He was called to account for it, and his promise was specifically repudiated in a resolution passed by the recent midwest regional meeting of the Congregational and Christian Churches held at Fort Wayne, Ind. Such a reaction was, of course, not only fitting but inevitable. It is a great mistake for any American citizen on his travels to undertake to be the unofficial spokesman for the nation to which he belongs but which he has no authority to represent. It is a still greater mistake for one who does occupy an official position and speak as the representative of an important group to exceed his commission by uttering sentiments and giving assurances which are utterly at variance with the expressed attitudes of that group. No religious body has gone on record more definitely than the Congregationalists in renouncing war. In 1934 their general council said: "We call upon the people of our churches to renounce war and all its works and to refuse to support, sanction or bless it." That ought to be clear.

Congress Returns To Work

CONGRESS reassembled on November 15, approximately six weeks in advance of the next regular session. The special session is a consequence of the failure to do much else than wrestle with the Supreme Court issue during the session which adjourned last August. President Roosevelt's message, after attempting to calm the fears of business by declaring in favor of certain very limited revisions in the tax laws, called on the special session to enact four specific measures. First, as a means of permanent farm aid, some form of the "ever normal granary" plan promised by both Democrats and Republicans during the 1936 campaign. Second, wages and hours legislation in behalf of factory labor. (Such a bill has already passed the Senate.) Third, provisions for the reorganization of the executive departments of the federal government, following the recommendations of the Blakeslee committee.

Fourth, establishing seven regional planning commissions, somewhat along the lines of the TVA, to administer a permanent and balanced planning program for future public works. Just how many of these measures the President hopes to see enacted before the opening of the regular session, it would be impossible to guess. Mr. Roosevelt has an optimistic nature; perhaps he thinks that they can all be passed within six weeks. But to the outsider, it does not look probable. For one thing, the order of priority of consideration has not yet been settled. The anti-lynching bill, which remains as unfinished business before the Senate, may block consideration of any of the President's favored legislation for a long time. Moreover, in the case both of the farm bill and the wages and hours bill, it is as yet by no means sure that support can be counted on even from the organizations which will supposedly be most benefited. Nothing like unanimity now exists among farm bodies concerning the "ever normal granary" plan of Secretary Wallace, which Mr. Roosevelt has seen fit to rename the "all weather" farm plan. And both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are lukewarm toward a wages and hours bill which would tend to freeze wages at 40 cents an hour and forty hours a week. On both the other recommended measures, likewise, support has yet to crystallize and opposition is already vocal. The prospect is thus for a protracted struggle over all these bills, with the outcome much in doubt.

British Government Will Take Over Coal Lands

CALL it "tory socialism" or what you will, the British government's plan to take over the ownership of the country's coal deposits is the only practicable method of at once bringing order in a chaotic industry and lifting a heavy burden from the nation's back. It must be understood that the proposal is to apply the principle of public ownership not to the mines but to the coal lands, the present owners of which collect royalties on the output of the mines. The Church of England is the largest owner, with an annual income of $1,850,000 from coal royalties. Several members of the titled aristocracy collect the equivalent of half a million dollars a year each. When the Baldwin government asked the owners to set a value on their royalties, they mentioned 150,000,000 pounds, but they agreed to accept the amount fixed by a commission appointed for that purpose. The commission fixed 66,450,000 pounds. There were loud protests from those who had so long been the recipients of unearned income from the nation's most basic and most distressed industry, but the figure stands. The necessary funds will be secured by a loan. While the mines will continue to be owned and operated by private corporations, the government will be able to make a more equitable adjustment of royalties than now exists, to safeguard the interests of the consumers and to improve the condition of the workers. According to the terms of the government's coal bill, the title to the properties will not pass until 1942, but provision is made for an interim procedure which is expected to produce some immediate improvements in the industry which will better the situation of all concerned. Thus, without any pronunciamento about public ownership or the iniquity of private monopoly in resources essential to the life of the nation, a conservative government has taken a very sensible step which, if suggested in this country, would be considered a very radical step. American church sentiment would probably be well in advance of the general average of public opinion in regard to ending private monopoly in coal. But then, the American church is not a heavy owner of coal lands.

The Movies: Entertainment Plus Education

IN launching his film version of the powerful social drama, "Dead End," Samuel Goldwyn recently struck this keynote: "It's about time Hollywood did something of significance for public welfare as well as the usual trivia." He went on to say that he has "an idea that the screen can be used to promote civic betterment as well as for purposes of entertainment." In "Dead End" he demonstrates the truth of this new and welcome doctrine. The film tells the story of a group of boys and girls in a city slum. It portrays vividly the way lives are warped in such surroundings. The picture is both excellent entertainment and first-class civic education. Warner Brothers have accomplished a similar combination in their "Life of Emile Zola" and in "They Won't Forget." These pictures give a convincing answer to those spokesmen for the motion picture industry who have contended that the movies have no function except entertainment. No one questions that their first business is entertainment. In fact, most pictures could well be more entertaining than they are. But the very nature of movies and the power of their emotional appeal make them more than entertainment. They subtly influence character, shape emotional attitudes, set behavior patterns, and establish values. They thus help to determine one's outlook on life, individual and social. To this extent the movies are educational whether the producers know it or not, for this is the essential business of education. The trouble with many movies is that they educate in the wrong direction. They portray life sentimentally and untruthfully. They make wrong attitudes seem right, false standards look true. The better pictures have been more realistic, more honest. When more producers adopt Mr. Goldwyn's idea we shall have better entertainment and with it better education.

Stille Nacht, Heilige Nacht— Nazi Version

CHRISTMAS is coming—but not in Germany, so far as the Storm Troopers are concerned. The chief of staff of this nazi Pretorian guard, which claims with good ground to embody the pure essence of the National Socialist mind, has recently issued instructions to the brown shirt brigades under the title, "Instructions for Cultural Exercises of Storm Troops." It is of the utmost importance, says Herr Lutze, to eliminate the "foreign ideology" of Christianity from the exercises of the Storm Troops and create new forms and ceremonies which will have not even the faintest flavor of Christian ideas. "We must avoid rituals reminiscent of church ceremonies. These ceremonies are dead. Our National Socialist ideology is not a substitute but a new creation. Christmas festivals in Protestant parish houses are as divorced from our ideology as the singing of Christmas hymns. A solstice ceremony must be

in such a form that people will be carried along with the strength of our faith. . . . Thereby we will force out the foreign spirit through the strength of our own faith." As a matter of strategy, the "foreign ideology" of Christianity is not to be made the object of direct criticism or public attack but is to be forced out by the substitution of nazi ceremonies of a purely German characer which will show that the Storm Troops are "creating from their spiritual experience something akin to a religious offering." Frau Ludendorff's recent frantic attack upon Christianity does not need to be taken too seriously, for it is easy to believe that the Ludendorffs are generally taken as representing the lunatic left wing of the German pagan movement. But here is something official. In a totalitarian state such official pronouncements as that of Lutze do not represent a merely private opinion. The anti-Christian movement in Germany is gaining momentum and audacity. It is reported that many army chaplains and officers have protested against the treatment of the church and the drive toward paganism, on the ground that it is weakening the morale of the army. Wouldn't it be interesting if the army should prove the stumbling block in the way of paganizing Germany?

A Bulwark of Temperance!

SOMETHING is going to have to be done about this beer business. It cannot be waved aside by scornful references to the "failure of prohibition" or by comforting assurances that it is much better for people to drink beer than to drink hard liquor. They are drinking both, in increasing quantity. The brewers are loud in their protestations that they are the true friends of temperance because they are trying to persuade people to drink beer instead of whiskey. But people don't drink beer instead of whiskey. They drink whiskey when they want whiskey and beer when they want beer. Naturally the brewers want to increase the sale of beer. That is what they have to sell. But there is not a scrap of evidence—statistical, biographical or physiological—to support the argument that an increase in the consumption of beer means a decrease in the consumption of whiskey. As a matter of fact, it works precisely the other way. The two beverages are made by different manufacturers, but they are sold at the same establishments. Only superficially are the brewers and the distillers rivals. In reality, they are allies. The retail agent and dispensing medium for both of them is the "tavern," which differs from the old-fashioned saloon whose permanent disappearance was promised by the repealers only in being open to women and children.

At the diamond jubilee convention of the United States Brewers' Association, held in Pittsburgh about three weeks ago, concern was expressed about the growth of local option sentiment and the extension of dry territory. The brewing interest was exhorted to unite and "fight to halt dry gains." Gentle and somewhat general warnings, but warnings nonetheless, were voiced by a guest speaker, Congressman Cochran of Missouri, who was an ardent advocate of the repeal of prohibition. "Only by keeping the industry clean," said Mr. Cochran, "and concentrating efforts upon the removal of abuses that have been accumulating in the retail branches of the industry, can the brewers hope to escape another such blow as befell them with the adoption of the eighteenth amendment." He did not describe these abuses in detail. It did not seem necessary. "I do not need to tell you what they are," he said. "You know. You come in daily contact with them. You know they are threatening. You know they are creating a hostile public opinion against you." It was putting it mildly enough to say: "Organizations that represent the public welfare—particularly of children and youth—are complaining that all is not well in the distribution and retail end of the trade." Many citizens strongly opposed to the principle of prohibition are voicing similar complaints. "Take the initiative," concluded Mr. Cochran. "Remove the cause of public irritation. Don't satisfy yourselves with talking about bad conditions. Act, and act swiftly and vigorously."

The brewers cannot say they have not been warned. But even their friendliest critics, in whose warnings not even the most sensitive brewer could detect the slightest flavor of dry fanaticism, cannot discover that they are doing anything to curb these abuses. Instead, they are craftily intent on selling more beer, regardless of consequences. Their taverns may be, as many of them are, pest-holes of iniquity. But instead of doing anything about it they solace themselves and try to hypnotize the public by the incantation of their old and foolish formula about the value of beer for the promotion of temperance.

At the same Pittsburgh meeting, Mr. Raymond Moley gave the brewers gentle exhortation and rousing encouragement. He was all against such legal restrictions as, in his opinion, are a vicious hold-over from the witch-hunting days of prohibition. He too was in favor of the removal of abuses, though he said little about them. The stress of his argument was upon the high respectability of the industry, the folly of governmental fussiness in the control of it, and the gratitude that everybody ought to feel on account of the taxes that it paid into the national treasury. "The brewing business is an important, wholesome part of our national life," and its only serious troubles come from the benighted ones who still think of it in pre-repeal terms. As to regulation or the correction of any imaginable but unmentioned defects that may need correcting—"the best regulation and ultimately the most enduring regulation is self-regulation." If the taverns need regulating, leave it to the brewers!

Fast upon this follows the "Brewers' Code of Practice." It was adopted at Pittsburgh and is being circulated by the United Brewers' Industrial Foundation—the same organization that has been coining new slogans, such as "It is smart to serve beer," and at the same time putting on a front that gives it a superficial resemblance to an uplift organization. The copy of the code that comes to this office looks like a presentation copy of the Ten Commandments. If its pledges could be taken at face value, they would mean something. Besides pledging themselves to brew good beer and obey the laws, the brewers pledge "support to the duly constituted authorities for the elimination of anti-social conditions wherever they may surround the sale of beer to the consumer." They pledge "to cooperate with the duly constituted authorities to prevent

beer sales to minors or to persons who have drunk to excess." And they end with an affirmation of their conviction "that beer is the nation's bulwark of moderation and sobriety." If it is, God save the nation! As a bulwark, beer lacks about everything that a bulwark should have.

The covering letter from the United Brewers' Industrial Foundation concludes with the statement that "the adoption of this Code of Practice is striking proof of the foundation's sincerity." Without the slightest disposition to be cynical about this matter, which is important both to the brewers and to the public, though for different reasons, it is a little difficult to see how the adoption of any set of resolutions under the present conditions can be a proof of sincerity. Even if the code were much stronger than it is —if, for example, it contained a pledge to separate the sale of beer from the sale of the hard liquors against which it is supposed to be a bulwark, or to exercise some supervision over the taverns and refuse to furnish beer to those who are caught selling it to minors or running disorderly houses or otherwise affronting public sentiment and debasing public morals— even if the code said all these things, the adoption of it would be no proof of anybody's sincerity. Sincerity is proved not by the adoption of codes but by the actions that are performed under them.

Perhaps the brewers have been converted by Mr. Cochran's speech and other evangelistic influences. To be sure, their resolutions expressed no sense of penitance for past misdeeds, and a godly repentance is an indispensable element in any sound conversion. Still, they may have repented without spreading it upon the record. They may be given the benefit of the doubt—for a very limited time. In fact, the time has already about expired. In an industry so well organized and in a society where communication and transportation are so rapid, the brewers could have put the screws on their retail agencies in less than three weeks if they had been terribly in earnest about it. The suspicion grows that the code is little more than a sop to public indignation, a promise with no serious intention of performance behind it, a device to lessen the pressure for the social control of a business which always has been anti-social. (Read E. E. Gordon's *When the Brewers Had the Stranglehold,* for a documented history of the industry in its relation to the public and the laws.)

Captain John B. Judson, chief executive officer of the New York State Liquor Authority, speaking at Syracuse on Nov. 10 to the Wholesale Beer Association of that state, warned them of the state's intention to "weed out chronic and persistent violators of the laws." He also had been looking, patiently if not hopefully, for some evidences of that "self-regulation" which Mr. Moley commended and Mr. Cochran urged at the Pittsburgh convention. But he had failed to discover it. There have been, he said, "promises made by representative groups to end certain undesirable practices," but "no serious attempt has been made by the industry itself to rectify abuses." As a summary of the entire history of the brewing business down to date, that statement is accurate and comprehensive. And he concluded: "I am therefore forced to the conclusion that henceforth any remedial action must come from the authority itself." The Syracuse meeting also adopted the code, but it evidently carried no more evidence of sincerity to Mr. Judson than it does to The Christian Century.

Without a doubt, self-regulation is better than any sort of regulation from the outside when it is applied. But there is nothing in history or reason to lead any sensible person to believe that the interests of temperance can be safely intrusted to the brewers. Some of them may be just as good men as many of their critics, but their standards of temperance are their own, and they have a financial interest in keeping them as they are. As a bulwark of moderation and sobriety, neither beer nor the brewers will do.

Prelude to Tyranny

BRAZIL has at last abandoned even the outward semblance of democracy and is to be ruled henceforth by the dictatorship of its president, Dr. Getulio Vargas. The words, "at last," are used advisedly, for there has been little reality to Brazil's claim to a place among democratic governments throughout Dr. Vargas' years in office. Despite the promulgation of a democratic and liberal constitution in 1934, under the terms of which the president would have been required to surrender office two months from now, means have been found to render that instrument practically inoperative and to allow the chief executive to wield virtually dictatorial powers. The most effective of these have been a series of proclaimed "states of war," during which all constitutional rights have been suspended. The most recent went into effect on October 2 and lasted until Dr. Vargas sprang his coup on November 10.

Is this new Brazilian regime fascist? Dr. Vargas denies the charge. Although his assumption of unlimited power was accompanied by the dissolution of all legislative bodies —municipal and state as well as federal—and the government is said to have in mind the creation of a corporative state on the Portuguese model, the rest of the world has been officially assured that the result is "democracy molded to Brazilian necessities." Under the new constitution, it is admitted, Dr. Vargas can continue in office indefinitely; legislative bodies of all kinds will be merely rubber stamps for the central authority; control of the states forming the federal union will be vested in army officers responsible only to the dictator; strikes will be prohibited; the press will be placed under censorship; civil rights will be such as the dictatorship sees fit to allow. Thousands of political offenders were imprisoned by the former Vargas government. Under the new order, no opposition will be permitted. Dr. Vargas may object to having such a government called fascist, but fascist it plainly is.

Rome and Berlin are reported to have hailed the Brazilian coup with delight. A part of the press in those fascistic capitals even went to the length of predicting that Brazil would shortly join the German-Italian-Japanese anti-red pact. But it may be questioned whether any direct connection exists between the expansion of the fascist bloc in Europe and this proclamation of a corporative state in South America. It is true that more than 30 per cent of Brazil's population is of Italian extraction and that there are now more than 800,000 German immigrants in the country. It is also true that the cultural background is Portuguese and that there have been close intellectual

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ties with Europe's fascist states. During the period of the Schacht barter policy, likewise, economic cooperation between Germany and Brazil has grown close. Nevertheless, there are plenty of reasons to doubt whether the new Brazilian dictator has any intention of bringing his state within the orbit of the European-Asiatic fascist alliance. For one thing, ordinary prudence would advise him against any such challenge to public opinion in the United States.

But no matter how debatable may be the existence of formal ties between the Brazilian dictatorship and those set up by Mussolini and Hitler, there is one respect in which the coup engineered by Dr. Vargas and the fascist revolutions in Europe have a striking similarity. In Brazil today, as formerly in Italy and Germany, this establishment of a ruthless dictatorship with its accompanying destruction of civil rights is justified as a necessity for the defeat of communism. Allegedly, it has been to check the spread of communism that Dr. Vargas has previously thrown thousands into jail; now it is allegedly to head off a communist menace that the bayonet-bolstered dictatorship is established. To be sure, "communism" in South America is an elastic term, taking in practically any form of opposition to a regime holding power. Most of the "communists" imprisoned, exiled or driven to cover by Dr. Vargas—as well as by the governments of the seven other South American states which are republics in little more than name—would be regarded in democratic countries as simply liberals. The proclamation of the dictatorship is defended, nevertheless, as essential to keep Brazil out of the hands of Moscow.

This pattern of sophistry recurs in every apology for every fascist seizure of power. The fact is important. The argument always runs the same: First, it is declared that communism is a menace which is about to swallow the nation. Second, it is asserted that democracy is unable to cope with this menace and that nothing but remorseless repression will prove sufficient. From these two premises it is argued that nothing will preserve the state but a dictatorship overriding all civil liberties. The fascist campaign against communism, as it has actually been carried on, has therefore proved in every case to be a prelude to the establishment of tyranny.

Mussolini has always declared that the brutality of the fascist liquidation of opposition in Italy was justified because the fascist dictatorship alone could save Italy from a communist revolution. Ignazio Silone's great novel, *Bread and Wine,* makes clear how sedulously this myth is cultivated among the exploited peasant farmers in Italy to the present day. Hitler has made precisely the same claim in Germany. Of what consequence, the nazi demands, are concentration camps, blood purges, oppression of the Jews, regimentation of the church, the launching of a new world armament race, when weighed against the service which the Führer has rendered Western civilization by holding back the red advance?

What is the justification advanced for the horrors in Spain? Again, the necessity of putting down a communist threat. Why has the fascist front been extended to the Far East? As a means, it is alleged, of preventing the spread of communism. Why is Japan raining death on the helpless inhabitants of such a Chinese city as Soochow? To protect them from the communistic tendencies of their own government! China may be turned into a shambles, the ascendancy of the military clique may be established over Japan for years to come, the astonishing progress toward a united and modernized state which the Chinese government had begun to make may be destroyed without hope of revival for another generation, but the whole bloody outrage will be defended as required by the communist menace.

All these are illustrations on an international scale of the destruction of personal liberties and human values which has spread terror around the globe because of an alleged red menace. But the evidence is equally striking that the same results come to pass when campaigns are launched to combat communism within more restricted communities. Go down the list of crimes against civil liberty in the United States, as these have mounted during recent years, and it will be found that this same allegation of a communist threat is invariably brought forward to justify the most high-handed outrages. Mob terrorism in the Imperial valley, the murder of Shoemaker in Tampa, the massacre outside the steel plant in South Chicago, the manhandling of peace speakers on the campus of a state university—these and uncounted other attacks upon civil liberty and the bill of rights are defended as a means of protection against communism.

The extent to which this justification is alleged for suspending or ignoring historic civil rights is strikingly illustrated by recent events in Canada. In this dominion, proud of its position as a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the province of Quebec has enacted an anti-communist law which is now being interpreted and administered in such a way as to make a mockery of those guarantees of civil liberty which are supposed to stem out of Magna Carta. Elsewhere in this issue an article, written by a minister of the United Church of Canada, tells of the way in which the authorities of the city of Montreal and the province of Quebec first permitted mob action to destroy free speech and assembly. But now the alleged action against communism has developed to the point where the government itself outlaws labor unions, closes papers, confiscates books and padlocks a man out of his own home!

Premier Maurice Duplessis, of the province of Quebec, makes no secret of his intention to emasculate civil liberty in his "drive against communism." The law which he forced through his provincial legislature last March, making it possible to padlock any building for one year in which any person has "propagated communism," studiously avoided defining the term communism. An attempt made to secure such definition while the law was under consideration was blocked by the premier. It was alleged then that the premier intended to leave the law purposely vague, so that he could use it against anyone he pleased. The charge now seems fully substantiated by the action of the premier in outlawing the C.I.O. as a communist organization, padlocking the rooming house of a journalist who ran on the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Fabian socialist) ticket in the last federal elections, and shutting down a weekly newspaper which, while radical, has by no means been a communist organ.

A committee of the Canadian Bar Association, reporting on this Quebec law, which also provides prison sentences for the publisher of any newspaper or other printed

document "propagating or tending to propagate communism," declared that it puts an end to civil liberty. The law, it stated, "gives the attorney general"—and in Quebec the premier acts as his own attorney general—"great powers which he can exercise in the first instance without the slightest judicial restraint, and takes away all the safeguards which even an ordinary criminal enjoys before conviction." The Civil Liberties Union is preparing to carry the issue to the London privy council, if necessary, and democratic opinion in other parts of the dominion is loud in its condemnation. Nevertheless, the premier announced after his most recent series of invasions of civil rights: "This is only the beginning of our activities."

One aspect of this assault on personal liberties in the province of Quebec which cannot be overlooked is the part which has been played by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church. Quebec is probably the most Roman Catholic portion of North America. The church can exercise its will there almost without hindrance. From the beginning, Premier Duplessis has regarded his campaign as a part of the world drive against communism inaugurated by the pope. As his invasion of civil liberty has developed, his closest adviser and staunchest supporter has been the Roman Catholic cardinal. In other words, what is happening in Quebec discloses the extent of the governmental tyranny which the Roman Catholic Church, in a territory where it has unrestricted sway, is ready to approve as a means of opposing communism.

Madame Roland, on her way to the guillotine, flung at her executioners that scornful cry which has lived for all these years since the French terror: "Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" But it is not only in liberty's name that crimes against humanity are committed. Today the natural apprehension of multitudes against the spread of a political doctrine which they abhor is being used, the world around, to justify both governmental and mob actions which leave the individual citizens at the mercy of brute force. However plausible may be the theoretical justification for such acts—and few of them can be justified with even a superficial plausibility—the inescapable fact which experience has revealed is this: The proclamation of a campaign against a communistic menace is generally, in actual practice, simply a prelude to the extension of tyranny.

'Invincible Ignorance'

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: My friend Ignatius, who is a Catholic, when he thinks of my final destiny, finds comfort in the fact of my "invincible ignorance." He has no qualms when he uses these words; for as he understands it, the fact that I am ignorant is my one hope, and the more invincible my ignorance is, the greater that hope. But Logicus interposes, "A thing cannot be more or less invincible."

Phrases like this are useful to kind hearts which are attached to dogmatic minds. I once presented my friend Big Business with the phrase—I think it is in Bishop Butler—"enlightened self-interest," and he has used it ever since when hewing socialists in pieces.

But "invincible ignorance" is a hard saying. I imagine that Ignatius means that I, being born and bred in the churches of the Protestant order, with my mind taking its stamp from the preachers and writers of that school, with all my roots in that ground—I, being such, have an impregnable defense to offer to Catholics who would dispel my ignorance if they could. So that in the heart of the matter I cannot bear the blame for this very Protestant ignorance. This is no reproach to the Catholic attack. I am invincibly entrenched in the dark fortress. My defenses may be broken down in another world, but so far as this is concerned, I must live and die in error.

Do you ever feel like that about certain perverse and obstinate upholders of errors through which you have seen? Do you forgive them on the ground that being in the condition in which they are and that by no fault of their own, they simply cannot see the light? And does that give you patience?

You could not subscribe, I think, without reserve to that word "invincible." It seems to set bounds to the forces which lead us to repentance. I wish we could use the word *metanoia,* the New Testament word which has many shades of meaning, not transferred to the word "repentance." For surely a change of mind and a fresh adjustment to reality, though hard, cannot be called impossible.

The plea can be easily abused. The examinee who finds himself faced by an examination in mathematics would not receive much sympathy if he pleaded "invincible ignorance." The point would not be well taken.

There may indeed be a tone of cocksureness in my voice when I pity my obstinate friend Geoplanarius, who believes the earth is flat. And cocksureness is an ugly quality.

But there is room also for compassion in such estimates of others. Few people today read the plays of Browning, but I remember how a company of us, when we were young, read "Strafford." In that play Pym speaks of his old friendship with Wentworth, his political foe:

> I love him now,
> And look for my chief portion in that world
> Where great hearts led astray are turned again,
> . . . in my inmost heart
> Believe. I think of stealing quite away
> To walk once more with Wentworth—my youth's friend
> Purged from all error, gloriously renewed.

Did Wentworth also think of his friend in the same way? When Pym should be purged from all error! And were they not both right?

We are ignorant of much; we may even seem almost invincibly ignorant so long as we are in this scene. But if we keep our integrity of mind, there is no ignorance which is invincible.

Nevertheless, I should be sorry if Ignatius lost his last hope for me.

Ever yours saved by hope,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

Inscription For An Hour-Glass

REMEMBER, mortal, as you watch
Time passing in my golden sands,
What you have in your heart you keep,
But not what you hold in your hands!

ARTHUR WALLACE PEACH.

Say It With Riots!

By Harvey Campbell

WHEN Bishop Francis J. McConnell was speaking in New York last month to the audience that gathered to celebrate his twenty-five years as a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, he gave warning that the next ten years would see a drive against free speech far more deadly than any person listening to him could remember.

What Bishop McConnell said was coming in the United States has come in Canada. The first round in an open struggle over free speech came last year when a group of students from the French-Catholic University of Montreal rioted to prevent friends of the Spanish government from presenting their case to the people of Montreal. Had it not been that several hundred McGill men formed themselves into a bodyguard for the speakers, the affair might have been a serious one. As it was, not only high church dignitaries but even Premier Duplessis himself congratulated the students of the University of Montreal on what they had done and assured them that they had both public and official support.

Mayor Sympathetic with Rioters

The second round came exactly a year later, when students from the same university invaded the City Hall and told Mayor Raynault that he must cancel the permit that had been given for a meeting in the Mount Royal Arena, to be addressed by Tim Buck and by M. Alfred Costes, who is a member of the French Parliament and a prominent trades-union leader in France.

A vivid account of what happened in Mayor Raynault's office was given immediately afterwards by Hubert Desaulniers, the vice-president of the Civil Liberties Union, which had been formed following the riot of 1936. M. Desaulniers, who is young and French-speaking, had joined the crowd of students and entered the mayor's chambers with them. He saw and heard it all.

The mayor listened to the demand of the students, and answered that he was sympathetic with their request but that he was limited in the use of his powers to the prevention of disorder.

"If the meeting were a probable cause of disorder, could you stop it?" the mayor was asked.

"Yes, I could," was the answer.

Whereupon Mr. Ronald Guy, spokesman for the students, assured him that the disorder would be forthcoming.

The mayor then summoned the director of police.

"You see before you," said Mayor Raynault, "a considerable section of the population of Montreal. I think they are as important as the groups that want to hold meetings at the Arena. As mayor I am afraid these groups may come into conflict and there may be rioting and civil disturbance. I ask you to take steps to prevent rioting."

The director of police, who might then have been expected to warn the young men there before him that they would cause disorder only at risk to their own heads, uttered no such warning. Instead, he told them that to call out police reserves would be "the very worst way" of settling this affair. He would simply cancel the meeting. This he did. Apparently it did not once occur to him that with his tongue in his cheek he had surrendered his authority to a mob.

But that was true—either that or a far more serious thing. For either the mayor and director of police have allowed their personal opinion of the right or wrong of a cause to determine their decisions, or they have surrendered to some outside body of opinion. There would seem to be no alternative possibility. In either case, they have usurped authority the citizens never meant them to possess.

That they have done so in the interests of church and fascist groups was plain within a week after the fiasco with the students. A meeting planned by the "Friends of the Soviet Union"—which has its parent body in London and includes among its members such illustrious people as Viscount Hastings, Lord Marley and the Duchess of Atholl—to hear Major-General Victor Yakhontoff of New York was cancelled. General Yakhontoff was to speak on "Russia of the Czars and Russia of the Soviets." The fact that the general is not a Communist and that he had spoken without offense to many audiences in the United States made no difference.

The secretary of "The Friends of the Soviet Union" at once applied for an injunction to keep the mayor and other city officials from interfering with the meeting. Mr. Justice Curran granted a temporary injunction and heard evidence all day on the matter. In the end he decided that he could not interfere with an act of civic administration and he lifted the injunction.

That evening hundreds of people jammed the street in front of the Mount Royal Arena, seeking admission to the meeting and not knowing whether or not it might be held. Learning ultimately that it had been cancelled, a protest meeting was held in a private hall on St. Lawrence boulevard. There the students of the French university were publicly warned that if they again marched down Mount Royal avenue looking for trouble, they would be met with clubs. And the mayor was warned that if he accepted dictation from the students, both he and they must face the consequences. The public would protect itself, if it could not get protection from the City Hall. Such was the inevitable result of the mayor's decision.

Civil Liberties Union Protests

Meantime, a protest had been lodged with Mayor Raynault by officers of the Civil Liberties Union. To that protest Mayor Raynault made answer with a document that emphasized seven points: (1) That the Civil Liberties Union had been formed apparently to defend Communists. (2) That he, the mayor, was the servant of the majority, and that the majority did not want communism discussed. (3) That in the case of communist meetings, he would "stretch" the law, if necessary. (4) That the students had only given him a legal pretext for doing what he personally wanted to do anyhow. (5) That Montreal could take what action it pleased about communism, just

as other communities took what action they pleased about bathing suits. (6) That communism was in the same category with obscenity. And (7) that the pope had condemned communism.

That civil liberty, not communism, is the issue the mayor has chosen entirely to ignore. The students have been down *en masse* to congratulate him on the stand he has taken, and Cardinal Villeneuve in a lengthy article in *La Presse* on November 2, gives Mayor Raynault the church's official blessing.

Freedom of Discussion Is Issue

That brings clearly into the open what is behind the present drive. When the rioting occurred a year ago, sane men among the students at McGill University sought conference with leaders among the students of the Catholic University of Montreal to see if they could not prevent any further clashes between the two groups. They met and found themselves on common ground in all but one matter, and on that the students of the French university were adamant. They did not believe in free speech or freedom of assembly, and they would not countenance open discussion of certain questions.

If the Roman Church chooses to brand all contrary opinion and all unwelcome discussion as communism, there are some three million people in Canada ready to accept the classification. But how liberty and spiritual religion can flourish in an atmosphere that regiments thought and controls the conscience, history does not show. It is perhaps only a coincidence that on the very day Cardinal Villeneuve issued his statement to *La Presse,* approving Mayor Raynault's attack on communism, Cardinal O'Donnell blessed a nation-wide campaign of the Knights of Columbus against the same movement in the United States.

A significant bit of service to the cause of civil liberty was rendered by Mr. R. L. Calder, K.C., who is both a loyal Catholic and a member of the Civil Liberties Union. In an address at a protest meeting on November 2 he explained how free speech was won in the first place. He traced the history of the process in the British Empire and showed how false was the impression widely held that free speech was won by agitators among the working classes. In England the leaders in the fight were all aristocrats. It was Henry Erskine, son of a Scottish nobleman, who played the leading role. And "the jurors whose verdict consecrated free speech as the inalienable right of the British subject in England were all solid substantial bourgeois."

In Montreal, if the meetings that have been cancelled had been held, not more than a handful of people would ever have heard about them. As it is, the citizens are being forced into opposite camps. Not French vs. English, nor Protestant vs. Catholic. It is a much more sinister division than that. The struggle is between those who believe in certain traditional liberties of the people, and those who believe in the "iron hand." And in that struggle the Roman Church has so far stood firmly for the iron hand.

Dare We Give Thanks?

By James H. Link

ONCE more the governor of our state calls us to give thanks in phrases which, though beautiful, are somewhat pious-sounding and outworn. Mechanically proclamations are being issued, and mechanically Thanksgiving services are being held. It has become the traditional thing to do. But for thoughtful people Thanksgiving day brings certain problems.

There is first the problem of how to give thanks under difficulties. In the face of no work, or death, or broken loves, how can one be thankful? The same paper that carries the proclamation likewise bears news of careless death on the highway, of murder and war, of broken homes and of suicides. The saving fact here, of course, is that the most fruitful thanksgiving is precisely that which *is* given under hardship. The first Thanksgiving celebration ever held on these shores teaches us that.

But there is another problem, even more serious and more widely felt. The question most of us face is simply this: Can we give thanks to God even for the good things we possess? The giving of thanks is a perilous thing. The pharisee who proudly praised the Eternal that he was not as other men damned his soul irrevocably. Dare we be grateful to Almighty God for benefits which come to us by way of an evil and corrupt society? May we rejoice in the good things of life when large numbers of people are still without these things? Should we be happy in the possession of gifts which we have received from a social order that is fundamentally unjust?

For example, there has come lately a measure of general recovery. How many ministers will praise God for this in Thanksgiving day sermons! The *New York Times* index of business activities has risen from 63 in March 1933, to 96.7 in January 1936, to 110 in September 1937. Shall we give thanks to God for this? How can we, when one of the largest corporations has issued a study of its 1935 record showing a sales increase of 34 per cent and a gain in profits of 75 per cent, while payrolls gained not quite 23 per cent? This is only too accurate an illustration of the fact that recovery is not reaching the mass of consumers in anything like the proportion indicated by the savings, which are being piled up at the top. The business recession of recent weeks, even if it proves to be only temporary, reminds us of how insecure such recovery must be.

Or shall we, perhaps, praise God for clothing, food and shelter. We rejoice in warm clothing. But back of this shirt is the raw cotton and some Negro picking it for 65 cents a day. And back of this suit is some Ella May Wiggins in a southern textile mill. The life blood of how many people stains the very clothing we are wearing! Is thanksgiving possible for clothing procured only at the price of the sweat of little children, the aches of a mother's heart, the consumption of young women in sweatshops, and the

numbing of minds through monotonous, unremitting toil?

We thank God for good food. But often part of the very food we enjoy was produced by parents whose children were sick of pellagra because they lacked certain foods in their diet. There are millions for whom Thanksgiving dinner will be only a name. Can we thank God for this? Yet the same society which gives us plenty or enough to eat, made these people work equally as hard as we, and gives them a beggar's fare.

We thank God for shelter. Yet the ministers of New York City issued this statement on January 3, 1936: "As pastors we continually see the effects of inadequate housing. Millions of American families are living and for years have been forced to live under conditions that are an acute menace to the welfare of body, mind and spirit. Slums breed crime. Such areas are conducive to a higher infant mortality and a much greater incidence of disease." With one-third of the people of the United States (Edith E. Woods: *Slums and Blighted Areas in the United States)* living in dwellings and neighborhoods that injure health, endanger safety and morals, how can you and I render thanks for warm, comfortable, airy, clean homes? Have we been so good as to merit them above these others?

We Are One Family

What does all this mean? First of all, it means we cannot fully enjoy these benefits when we see the injustice and suffering that lie back of them. Secondly, that we are a total social group, and whatever measure of ease and comfort is ours we have through a process which has blighted and destroyed others.

The Christian church knows no boundaries of culture or class, no frontiers geographical or social. But typically we have looked out from our middle-class churches and rejoiced in our middle-class ideas and ideals. We have thanked God that we did not belong with those 20,000,000 Americans who have not been thrifty and provident enough to care for themselves, who would rather go on relief than to work, and who are so nasty as to strike "against Uncle Sam," crippling recovery just when it appears to be at hand.

We have not placed our loyalty to Christ above our loyalty to our class and our culture. On the contrary, we have sung smug paeans of praise for our relative security and warmth, and have forgotten these brothers who have contributed to our welfare, who have done the hard, dirty work of the world. And we, as a total social group, have so arranged things as to deny these "sons of Martha" the right to work unless they do so in such a way as to make profits for the men who own the tools they use. We have not returned their service to society by making their lives as secure as ours. What use has the high and holy God for any man's right to be comfortable and warm, when achieved at the expense of his fellow men!

Of course, we American Protestants have not willed to be members of the middle class; but we have accepted the benefits of our class position. We have sinned, and thanked God that our sinning was sweet and brought us well-being and ease!

Consequently, repentance must be the primary note in our thanksgiving. Jesus said, "Repent for the Kingdom of God is at hand." We must say, "Repent for the Kingdom of God is nowhere realized." We must repent because the good life has been ours only through the suffering of others.

To return to our question: Dare we be grateful to Almighty God for the benefits which come to us by way of an evil and corrupt society? The answer can be yes only if we have first seen that in such a world as we have built our comforts are tokens not only of God's goodness but of our sin. Thanksgiving day should be a time of inward searching. Thanksgiving calls us to repentance. May it be the true repentance which consists not in mere sentimental regret but in breaking the heart from sin and in setting the hand to the work of building the new and just world.

Masaryk: Teacher of Democracy

By Joseph Miller

THE late Thomas G. Masaryk was known on this side of the Atlantic only as the founder and president of the Czechoslovak republic. Yet before becoming the "Little Father of the Republic" he was for many years professor of philosophy at Charles University in Prague and his influence upon several generations of the Czech intelligentsia was of tremendous importance. He was the founder of a philosophical and a political school of thought. The Masaryk "realists" have represented from the beginning of this century the aspirations and ideals of the Czechs. The most influential leaders of the nation before and since the Czech independence have all been Masaryk's disciples.

Many political observers of today call Czechoslovakia the main bulwark of democracy in Central Europe. At present the national minorities and minor political parties enjoy almost complete equality with the majority parties. Despite the fact that the Communist party occupies several seats in the legislature, the refugees from red Russia find a hospitable haven in this land. And in spite of the fact that for generations the Czechs have resented and hated Germans as oppressors, the refugees from the terrors of fascism find a welcome in Czechoslovakia whether they come from Germany or any other land. The young republic is proving a worthy daughter of her great founder.

Masaryk believed that modern man underneath his general skepticism harbors one ideal which has ethical as well as social implications. The word which best describes this ideal to Masaryk is "humanity." He searched the literature of all nations for proofs of his contention. "There is more idealism in the world than most people like to admit," he claimed.

Masaryk found the fundamental principle of humanism in the ancient maxim: "Love your neighbor as yourself." He spoke of the two aspects of this principle: being a self-respecting person and respecting one's fellowmen in the widest possible sense.

"Love yourself!" exhorted Masaryk. "Do not exclude your body from this self-love. The source of evil lies not in the body but in the spirit." He believed in developing harmoniously body and mind. He himself was an enthusiastic horseback rider even in his seventies. Above all he believed that men must learn first to be at peace with themselves before they are able to love their fellowmen.

A Believer in Life

He deplored the pessimism of Schopenhauer and his contention that all values are illusory. Asceticism and martyrdom had no place in Masaryk's concept of a well adjusted man, because they were denials of life. Martyrdom especially was deplored, not primarily for the sake of martyrs but for the sake of the torturers. "Do not be afraid," he told his students, "for tyrants are often products of fear—their own as well as other people's fears."

The fact that Masaryk believed in "loving oneself" does not mean that he subscribed to the philosophy of hedonism, which claims that all human behavior is motivated purely and simply by one's own desire for pleasure. He rejected completely Nietzsche's extreme individualism and the philosophy of Superman. "Extreme individualism is not only impossible but it is unnatural," he declared, "for it disregards the element of sympathy. I cannot ignore the fact that even Nietzsche sympathized with his Superman, who after all was only human and very much alone. Even if man identifies himself with God he cannot live alone. Without his fellows he feels lonely. The really wise man accepts his fellowmen and regulates his relations to them through morality."

Religion flows from man's desire to formulate his relationship to the universe and to God. It is derived primarily from emotions. But these, Masaryk felt, should always, even in the realm of religion, be brought into harmony with the intellect, for only in this way may men segregate the constructive from destructive emotions, the beautiful from the ugly and the refined from the crude.

There must also be a harmony of intellect and emotion in the realm of morality. On this conception of the morality of individual relationships Masaryk built his philosophy of government—nationalism and cosmopolitanism. As the ideal of individual humanism must find expression in love of others, so nationalism must be free of all hatred of other nations.

Lover of Mankind

In the light of this teaching it is interesting to recall that before the Czech revolution every precaution was taken to assure its being bloodless, and that the attempt met with complete success. Even the Hungarian soldiers who had guarded the city of Prague for some time before the declaration of independence and were often stationed throughout the city with machine guns trained upon the civilian population, were escorted across the borders of newly formed Czechoslovakia without as much as an expression of animosity.

Masaryk emphatically rejected the idea of Nietzsche and Darwin that the strong have the right to rule by might in order to find expression for their creative powers. His entire life, in fact, was devoted to combatting this theory. At the beginning of the World War he went into voluntary exile in order to organize in America and France the sentiment for the self-determination of small nations. Had he failed, the result would have been a lifelong exile and possible execution at the hands of the Austrian government. Long before he became the recognized leader of his nation he declared: "We need leaders, but to be a leader does not mean to be a master. A good leader is one who knows how to serve and who feels that he himself is guided and needs to be guided."

Masaryk believed that there must be no cleavage between politics and morality. Principles which are basic in individual human relationships must be equally operative in political life. Nationalism and politics can and must be human, he claimed. He believed that the only possible basis for internationalism was a realization by every nation on earth of the ideals of humanism. In such an international system the stronger nations would not dominate the small ones, but each nation would respect and recognize the ideals of every other nation.

Distrusted Totalitarian Claims

While he sympathized with the socialist and communist claim of equal rights for all individuals, he firmly rejected all totalitarian concepts as well as the Marxian idea of class morality. He believed in economic as well as political freedom and equality, but he refused to place economics above moral and political ideals. He could not conceive of the individual submerged in the mass and was convinced that the only solution of all human problems lay in the general acceptance of the principles of humanism by all individuals within all classes. With sharp logic he saw contradictions in the theories of Marx and Engels. "If the individual and his personality are of no value, why should thousands of individuals grouped together mean not only something, but everything? When the individual has no conscience and is devoid of moral principles, how can a class possess both these attributes?" he asked.

Masaryk believed in life and in the fundamental goodness of men. He believed in the possibility of growth within the individual and in the reality of progress in the world. Progress to him was the overcoming of evil. "It is not hard to overcome evil with goodness, but it is difficult to overcome the good with the better. Man is by nature weak, but he is not bad. He can improve with the help of others."

"Don't look for happiness!" Masaryk advised. "Happiness disappears as soon as we consciously seek it. We become unhappy. Modern man is driven by his desire for happiness into economic, social, philosophical and artistic endeavor; he seeks his lost paradise. Work and help others! therein lies happiness."

Masaryk's philosophy was based on the concept of an eternity in which we are participating throughout our life, not one which has to do with existence after death. His favorite expression was: "Look at everything 'sub specie eternitatis'! What you cannot finish today, someone else will finish tomorrow. Therefore respect the coming generation. But if you find that neither you nor anyone else is

capable of accomplishing what you hoped, say to yourself that God will take care of that which he has created."

Heavy clouds are hanging at present over the political horizons of the new republic. The political and philosophical ideals with which it was endowed by its founder may be brought before long to a crucial test. It remains a question whether Czechoslovakia shall survive and continue to translate into reality the ideals upon which it was founded, or whether it will be swept away by those who believe in force, racial and national superiority, and state totalitarianism.

When Thomas G. Masaryk died on September 14 at the age of 87 the entire Czechoslovak nation was plunged into deep sorrow. A well known Czech poet (Jaroslav Nauman) expressed the feelings of his compatriots in the following words:

Closed is the circle.—Spring brought to us his bloom,
But with the fall's first leaf he left the living.

An avalanche of memories comes to us—
Each one wishing to bare his burning sorrow,
To tell the world or to reproach the heavens,
That even he as lesser men must die.

The flags of mourning have cast their shadows,
The sorrowful death knell sounds from every tower,
And all are weeping—women, men and children.
Every voice breaks as his name is uttered,

That name which has become forever sacred.

What is left to say when he had said so plainly
All that this land of ours needed to hear?

Again we know the boon of tears unfailing—
The blessed heritage relieving sorrow,
When nothing else seems left to say or do.

Yet there are things which can't be left unsaid.

He whose name found honor in distant countries
And conquered all ill will and indolence,
He whose name is blazing on the horizon
Of this whole continent—he was our brother!

By blood and soul and tongue he was bound to us;
He sang our songs, held dear the things we do.
He was the greatest our land has borne,
Yet was he our brother.

I bow and tremble.
Blessing and thanksgiving to my land's genius,
For having brought him forth at the right moment
To save us all and free us and to uplift.

Closed is the circle.—Sad but clear the day.
Inescapably each of us is feeling
A welcome bondage. He was our brother.

The Anglo-Catholic Tightrope

By Evelyn A. Cummins

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM, as Strachey said, is a tightrope for its followers to walk. In other words, Anglo-catholics find themselves always between the devil of Protestantism, which they abhor, and the deep blue sea of Roman Catholicism, of which they are afraid.

Anglo-catholics believe that the Church of England is catholic and has never been a Protestant church, in spite of the Reformation. American Anglo-catholics believe that the Protestant Episcopal Church is catholic—a "branch of the holy catholic church," they call it—in spite of its name and despite the fact that at the time of its separation from the English Church, it became more liberal and democratic than the church which it left. To Anglo-catholics the mass is the center of liturgy and worship, just as it is to Roman Catholics.

Average Episcopalians consider that Anglo-catholics are mistaken in the belief that the Episcopal Church is strictly catholic. They consider themselves Protestants. To them the holy communion is not the mass. They believe that their church is Protestant and that its *Book of Common Prayer* is meant to be so. It is the only authorized book of worship in the Episcopal Church, contains its doctrine and all that is supposed to be necessary for any service of worship.

It is fundamental catholic theology that the essential office of the Catholic priesthood is to offer sacrifice, and in the *Book of Common Prayer* the idea of the sacrifice of the mass was directly omitted at the time of the Reformation. In the Roman *Pontifical* and *Missal* the sacrificial character of the priesthood and the sacrifice by the priest were mentioned in forty-nine places, and, by direct omission, not once in the "Ordinal" and "Order for Holy Communion," which the Church of England drew up and used to replace those liturgies.

Protestant Episcopalians believe that it is an indisputable fact that the "Ordinal" and the "Order for Holy Communion" were not intended to provide for a sacrificing priesthood or for the sacrifice of the mass, and that they did not do so. The "Ordinal" and the "Order for Holy Communion" are contained in the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Episcopal Church, which stems from that of the Church of England.

While many Anglo-catholics in the Episcopal Church use the *Book of Common Prayer,* most of them add other books to it. Missals, Roman and English breviaries, and various other volumes in which much of the Roman faith and usage is incorporated are used to succor and maintain "Catholic" doctrine and practices.

Two Episcopal Communion Services

Until one is inside an Episcopal church on a Sunday morning, it is impossible to tell what sort of a service may take place. In two churches at the celebration of the holy communion two entirely different scenes may occur.

In the first, a clergyman, vested in black cassock, white surplice and stole of the color appropriate to the liturgical season, stands before an altar which has on it a cross and possibly two candles, but more probably vases of flowers. The clergyman reads the communion service in his customary tone of voice and it is quite audible to the congrega-

tion. He uses the *Book of Common Prayer*. The congregation receives the bread and the wine. This is a normal Episcopal service.

In the second scene the interior of the church may differ little from a Roman Catholic church. The altar—dimly visible through ascending clouds of incense—is adorned with a crucifix. On it stand six lighted tapers, three on each side of the crucifix. If the day happens to be a prayer book or an Anglo-catholic feast, or within the "octave" of one, there may be other candles flickering. An "octave" in Catholic theology is a feast-day and the seven days following it.

There are at the altar three clergymen, a master of ceremonies, and perhaps an assistant master of ceremonies, with a number of scarlet-clad acolytes. The three clergymen are clothed in gorgeous mass vestments. The celebrant, who is reading the service, bends low over the altar. Beside him kneels the second clergyman—the deacon of the "mass"—his head bowed profoundly, and one hand clasping the rim of the celebrant's chasuble which he raises when the celebrant genuflects. The third clergyman—the subdeacon—kneels on the lowest step of the altar, his shoulders swathed in the humeral veil which also covers his hands as he holds the paten before him on a level with his face.

The celebrant recites the prayer of consecration but no one can hear him. He hasn't laryngitis; he is purposely whispering the sacred words, in good Catholic style. The words may be those from the prayer book, but one cannot be sure. They may be the words from the Roman Catholic canon of the mass, for many Episcopal clergymen of the Anglo-catholic school prefer the Roman consecration to the Episcopal form. The consecrated communion bread to Anglo-catholics is the host. That is, to them it is God. Probably none of the laity will be expected to communicate at this "late mass."

What book lies on the missal-stand? It may, of course, be an altar size edition of the *Book of Common Prayer*. If so, a printed card, leaflet, or Catholic service book of some sort is probably resting beside it. But it may very likely be something else—perhaps a "Cowley Missal," an "English Missal," a "Holy Cross Missal," or an "American Missal." All of these services contain portions from the *Book of Common Prayer,* with varying interpolations from Roman and other sources.

The 'American Missal'

Because the "American Missal" is the most popular Anglo-catholic service book in this country, it may be used as an illustration. Put out six years ago by an Anglo-catholic publishing house in the midwest, the "American Missal," despite unauthorization and the ban of numerous bishops, has a place on many Episcopal altars. Bishop Manning of New York, for example, declared firmly that "it [the "American Missal"] is not of authority in this church and that it is not authorized for use in this diocese." Yet the book is said to be widely used in the diocese of New York —possibly more so than in any other diocese.

In contrast to the *Book of Common Prayer,* which contains in its chaste pages only a few simple directions concerning the posture for the officiating clergyman—such as, "Then shall the priest turn to the holy table and say . . ." or "Then shall the priest stand up, and turning to the people, say . . ."—the "American Missal" gives copious and complicated notes about what the priest is to do. For example: "Then, having kissed the altar in the midst, turning to the people and extending his hands slightly, he says . . . " or "Then, bowing slightly, he takes the two parts of the host between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand, and the paten underneath between the forefinger and the second finger; and strikes his breast with his right hand as he says thrice in a slightly louder tone. . . . " On other occasions the priest is told, in this elaborate volume, to raise his hands "to the height of his shoulders"; to "join his hands"; to be "standing erect and straightway lifting his eyes to the cross"; and to make the sign of the cross "on the forehead, lips and breast."

While the Episcopal prayer book contains only a few variations in the communion service—the differences being in the collect, Epistle and Gospel—the "American Missal" provides a variety of services. There are "masses" of all sorts: "of the angels," "of St. Joseph," "of the Holy Ghost," "of the most holy sacrament," "of the holy cross," "of the passion," "the most Sacred Heart," "Christ the King," "for the remission of sins" and "for a good death." And, in case one's needs are not filled by any of the entries in this sumptuous list, there is a versatile sort of a mass to be said "in any necessity."

Dislike Protestant Label

American Anglo-catholics dislike the name Protestant Episcopal. They seldom use it. Nowhere in the "American Missal" or in other American volumes of the Anglo-catholic rite, does the name appear. The "Missal's" title page states that it is "the Liturgy from the Book of Common Prayer According to the Use of the Church in the United States of America. . . . Together with Propers for Additional Holy Days and Saints' Days and for Requiem and Votive Masses." It seems far-fetched to attribute much of its contents to the *Book of Common Prayer*. For instance, nowhere in that book are found the words which the "Missal" directs the celebrant to recite before "mass": "I confess to God Almighty, to blessed Mary ever Virgin, to blessed Michael the archangel, to blessed John the Baptist, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to all the saints, and to you brethren, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word and deed: [He strikes his breast thrice, saying] by my fault, by my own fault, by my own most grievous fault. Therefore I beg blessed Mary ever Virgin, blessed Michael the archangel, blessed John the Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, all the saints, and you brethren, to pray for me to the Lord our God." This book, used by Anglo-catholics in place of the prayer book, also contains "various prayers which may be used on ferias, simple feasts or at votive masses," all of which terms might as well be in Greek for the average Episcopalian. And perhaps suspecting that the "Missal" might cause a spot of bother in some congregations, the compilers have had the forethought to add a collect, a "secret" and a "post-communion" for a mass "for the preservation of concord in a congregation."

The calendar of the *Book of Common Prayer* is simple. It contains some holy days and saints' days. The lists of feasts and saints' days in Anglo-catholic missals and devotional books are excellent imitations of those in Roman Catholic works. To be found among them are: Bernardine

of Siena, Blasius (whose intercession Catholics invoke for throat ailments), Brigitt (queen and widow, the mother of eight children, and not to be confused with Bridget, a virgin), Columbanus (who left Ireland because of the beauty of Irish girls), Crispin and Crispinian (a nice distinction), the forty martyrs of Sebaste, Gervasius and Protasius, Isidore of Seville (who, unhurt, was covered with a swarm of bees when a baby), Joan of Arc, the martyrs of Lyons, St. Joseph of Cupertino (who flew through the air with the greatest of ease), Vincent of Lerins (who stormed against heretics), St. Francis Xavier, St. Lucy, the feasts of Corpus Christi and of the Most Precious Blood, the stigmata of St. Francis, St. Peter's chains, and his chair. St. Theresa, the Little Flower of Jesus, canonized by Pius XI, is also usually included. Feasts of the Blessed Virgin include her compassion, conception (extreme Anglo-catholics have never forgiven the compilers of the "American Missal" for omitting the word "immaculate" in this feast), her visitation, seven sorrows and repose. The feast of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, beloved among Italians, is also celebrated. "Vespers of Our Lady" is a favorite service with Anglo-catholics. Mariolatry is unknown to "prayer book churchmen," as normal Protestant Episcopalians are now called.

Observe Seven Sacraments

Anglo-catholic missals and devotional books also contain provision for Catholic services and practices such as the seven sacraments; the blessing of ashes on Ash Wednesday and of the palms on Palm Sunday; mass of the pre-sanctified; benediction of the blessed sacrament; the way of the cross; the angelus, Regina Coeli, Salve Regina; devotions to the Sacred Heart; masses votive to the Blessed Virgin and to the saints; the holy hour, and intercessions before the blessed sacrament. Anglo-catholics have the "reserved sacrament" for purposes of prayer and adoration.

When it is remembered that as late as the 1860's and 70's it was considered "Romish" in the Episcopal Church to have flowers on the altar or to carry a processional cross, it is easy to realize how far Anglo-catholic ritual has progressed in a Romeward direction.

Commonly used by Anglo-catholics now are the Roman Catholic "Divine Praises"; St. Thomas Aquinas' "Adoro Te Devote"; and the "Anima Christi," the favorite aspirations of Ignatius Loyola: "Soul of Christ, sanctify me. Body of Christ, inebriate me. Water from the side of Christ, wash me. Passion of Christ, strengthen me," and so on. The "Divine Praises" are in part: "Blessed be God. Blessed be his holy name. Blessed be Jesus Christ, true God, and true Man. Blessed be the name of Jesus. Blessed be his most Sacred Heart. Blessed be Jesus in the most holy sacrament of the altar. Blessed be the great Mother of God, Mary most holy. Blessed be her holy and immaculate conception." Some Anglo-catholics leave out this sentence. "Spikes," the pro-Roman Anglo-catholics, look down upon those who discard it!

The most popular Anglo-catholic book of devotions in this country is probably *The Practice of Religion,* by the Rev. Archibald C. Knowles. It is dedicated to "the Glory of God and in Honor of the Most Comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ." The instructions on the prayer book and doctrinal matters are enough to make the "low churchmen" faint. It contains the "full Catholic" ritual and has gone into a number of editions. Next to this in circulation come the *Anglo-Catholic Prayer Book* and *St. Swithun's Prayer Book.* The latter really exists, though some Protestants, upon hearing of it, have expressed the belief that with such a name it must be a myth. A favorite book is the *English Missal for the Laity,* which looks like the Roman *Missal,* and is commonly known as one of the "spikiest" of all. In it portions from the prayer book are inserted between black lines. The *English Catholic Prayer Book* is another good seller. Shorter volumes are the *Centenary Prayer Book* and the *Anglican Missal.* A particularly choice specimen of "Catholicism" is *A Book of Devotions for the American Church,* which originated at St. Paul's, Brooklyn, and is said to have replaced the *Book of Common Prayer* in the pews there. It contains, among numerous Catholic litanies, one of "Reparation to the Blessed Sacrament." In the preface the compiler states that these devotions come "from the Holy Catholics of the East and West, Anglican and Roman!"

Canonizing Modern Saints

A most extraordinary Anglo-catholic publication is the *Oxford Centenary Missal* (Supplementary) in "commemoration of thirty-nine beati of the Anglican communion." This piece of literature contains masses for and in the names of leaders of the Oxford Movement and a few others, whom the compiler—one Clement Humilis of St. Clement's, Cambridge, who dates his preface on the Feast of St. Clement, 1932—hopes may be canonized. A favorite Anglo-catholic argument is that anything pleasing in the way of worship which is not actually forbidden may be performed. Or, if it is prohibited, it may be undertaken with mental reservations. The book's preface states: "It is hoped that there will be many dioceses in which the use of these masses will be implicitly permitted (as contrasted with the explicit permission) that is to say, will not be officially prohibited (at least as extra masses *ad libitum),* so that gradually these saints of our own time may win their way to our altars." The "saints" include "blessed Alexander Mackonochie" who early in the Oxford Movement irritated so many by his bagful of Catholic tricks that he was several times under suspension; "blessed Richard Benson," who founded the Cowley Fathers order; "blessed Charles Gore," the late Bishop of Oxford, well known for his writings, controversial and otherwise; "blessed John Bacchus Dykes," described as "one of the sweet singers of the Catholic revival"; "blessed Arthur Tooth," who to Anglo-catholics is almost a martyr because he did time in Horsemonger Gaol for his Catholic practices; "blessed Edward Pusey"; and "blessed Frank of Zanzibar" (Bishop Frank Weston), leader of the Kikuyu controversy which some years ago caused much church disunity, and famous for having almost disrupted an Anglo-catholic congress by sending a message of devotion to the "Vicar of Christ." Also listed are five women—one "widow" and four "virgins."

Fortescue on Roman Rites

A Baedeker for the Anglo-catholics is a Roman Catholic volume published in England, Fortescue's *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite,* which tells what is strictly correct in Roman Catholic ceremonial. This is used by the clergy to instruct themselves, their underlings and acolytes in Roman

usage and form for the edification of their brethren and congregations. It is much handled by students in Episcopal seminaries and is thumbed over with Oh's or Ah's or giggles, according to the leaning of the reader. The dean of an eastern cathedral in discussing the scholarship of a leading seminary recently said, "They spend more time there on Fortescue than they do on Holy Scriptures!"

Dick

By Edward Shillito

DICK Sheppard has left us without warning or farewell. When I saw the news last Sunday on a poster in a London street, I knew, as many others knew, that a rare and noble person had left the world, which would be poorer now. No one could claim any monopoly in his friendship; he had many to whom he gave himself without any "nicely calculated less or more."

I

He was the standard-bearer of the Christian Pacifists; he was the best known of all radio preachers in Great Britain; he was the "Impatient Parson" who could not bear to see the church, which he loved, miss its hour. He was at various stages of his life Vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Dean of Canterbury, Canon of St. Paul's, but in a strange and almost unearthly way he kept his interest in individual human beings. We were never abstractions to him. He was a great lover, not of humanity or his nation only, but of his friends, who were by no means all of one kind. Indeed an assembly of the friends of Dick Sheppard would reveal heretics and orthodox; left, right and center; rich and poor; saints and sinners.

He was a sensitive being, eagerly seeking the love of his friends, always ready to welcome them; but he gave himself, and no man gave more royally. He was ready not only to spend but to be spent for others. That is why to them he was more than the famous statesman and knight errant of every noble cause, more than the Bayard of our days without fear and without reproach—he was simply Dick, who could always be trusted, to whom we were not souls, but each one a friend with his own life to live and his own battles to fight, and his own sorrows to bear.

There were some things commonly believed about him which were true but need to be supplemented. They used to say that he was the leader of the "hearty church"; most certainly if choice had to be made between the "hearty church" and the "hard church," Dick would be classed with the hearty; but he was not in the least a man to use soft words. He could take to task in his own way those who were missing their high calling, and neither rank nor wealth would shield a man from his frank judgment. But it is a grotesque misunderstanding to underestimate Dick's intellectual gifts. He never claimed to be a theologian, but he read widely, and his writings are a revelation of a mind quick and responsive, as well as rich in insight. It was one of his innocent foibles to disclaim any right to speak as a scholar or as an intellectual. But he did not deceive any who had ears to hear.

He had an amazing gift for practical affairs. It was he who saw long before most other men what were the possibilities hidden for the church in the radio. He was in the beginning of very many projects, of which others were suspicious. He made what was a derelict church into a place of life and joy and freedom. He turned a parish magazine into a valuable monthly review. He started his "Peace Pledge" community, and helped to provide the means for it by writing on practical religion in a popular paper which had no belief in his peace movement. He did wonders during his short term as Dean of Canterbury. A long list of such achievements could be prepared almost offhand.

It could never be told what his resourceful mind would plan next. I was often with him when he was busy upon his gallant attempt to save *The Challenge,* a weekly paper which had done useful work during the war. We used to meet—a varied but happy company. But one memory out of many may be permitted, because it seems to show much of Dick's humor and daring.

It was the evening before a general election—but the vast assembly in the Albert Hall had not come for any political ends. Nor had they come to be exhorted for their good. Dick had begun his career as a radio preacher and had a wish to gather together all listeners who were willing to come to what he called a "jolly." They came from east and west, from all ranks of society, and with Dick to guide, the evening indeed was a jolly. Did Albert Hall, the largest auditorium in London, ever see ten thousand people singing "rounds" and part songs? For "rounds" the people were divided into different parts according as they were on the ground floor or the various galleries. So they sang "London's Burning," and other favorites. I remember that the clergy of St. Martin's led the way, Dick among them, by becoming a quartet for the occasion. At the end of the evening the ten thousand joined hands and sang "Auld Lang Syne."

Dick was very nervous about the business beforehand; he need not have been. But who else would have dared to carry through such a "jolly"?

II

I had one of his affectionate letters only a few days ago, but I saw him last for a few minutes in Oxford during the ecumenical conference. He was not satisfied with the report on Peace and War—on that subject he had made up his mind, and for him there was no turning back. He knew perfectly well what might be involved. He made engagements on the understanding that when the date came, he might be in prison. There is no doubt that his movement was considered seriously by the war office and if war *did* come, the Peace Pledge people would not expect to be spared. In his very last days his election to be rector of Glasgow University gave him great satisfaction; it put "the Peace Pledge on the map," he said, but by one statesman who confessed to a personal admiration for "Dick," the event was regarded as a portent of the failure of democracy.

But Dick was spared the suffering which a war would have given his tender heart. It is enough to know that he was willing to pay the price of his convictions.

It was said truly of him that the sorrows of mankind and the wrongs endured by the victims of human folly and sin

always weighed heavily upon him. He could not hide himself from them. This world he had found to be a place so rich in glorious things, and chiefly in the love of friends, that he could not bear to see it spoiled and ravaged by hatred and warfare, in which hatred is released. He himself had suffered as few are called to suffer. Often after a night spent in struggling for breath, he went out to serve others. His gaiety was not the outcome of health and an untroubled experience. The springs have to be sought elsewhere.

We shall not see another like Dick. But his memory will remain and whenever we are tempted to think despairingly of ourselves and of others, there will come back the thought of this radiant knight who rode out with no armor but the apostolic weapons of tears and love—a knight of the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of all life and all love.

BOOKS

The Church Through a Candid Camera

OUR CHANGING CHURCHES: A STUDY OF CHURCH LEADERSHIP. *By Joseph Van Vleck, Jr. Association Press, $2.25.*

A VERY honest and provocative book. Dr. Van Vleck writes as a sociologist. The present work had its origin in an extensive survey of the Methodist Episcopal churches in New York City and an adjacent suburban county. The results of this survey, presented in the appendix and supplemented by much other similar data, constitute a broad basis in hard fact for the study. The book is primarily the result of reflection upon this material. In its discussion of leadership, it is consequently limited to the local church viewpoint. Starting thus with concrete observations of particular churches, it makes little use of the ordinary Christian assumptions concerning the church and ministry, but rather proceeds on a minimum theoretical basis which sociologists and churchmen can both agree to. This continuous understatement of religious postulates will prove irritating to those who must always regard the church in its superhuman aspects. This limitation serves in the present instance to force into the open a multitude of factors which condition local church leadership, but which are rarely confessed frankly because it seems beneath the dignity of the high office of the ministry to pay attention to them.

From Dr. Van Vleck's standpoint, leadership is a function of the group. A leader must therefore reflect the interests of the group—in this case the local church—and, to tell the plain truth, must ultimately please it. The great difficulty in pleasing it, and especially its leaders, is that they do not all want the same thing. There is a growing diversity of demand in churches, due partly to the unequal shifting of theological views, partly to the unbridged gulf between clergy and laity and between old and young. The divergent viewpoints of the minister and his flock are very fully documented with first-hand evidence. A bit of humor appears in the rather unflattering view of the minister supplied by persons who had been selected by ministers as representing their most responsible and devoted supporters!

What can the minister do to lead a church which is looking in so many different directions at once?

Many churches, as Dr. Van Vleck's data show, exhibit a certain "membership selectivity"; that is to say, while there are likely to be great diversities within all, this one tends to be fundamentalist, the other liberal, etc. Dr. Van Vleck finds another mitigation of the leader's difficulties in the doctrine of "polytelism," which means merely that a given religious act, like the celebration of the sacrament, or an activity, like the carrying on of a woman's society in a local church, may represent different values and ends in the minds of different people. Their purposes diverge while they agree on the outward form. This possibility of uniting people with divergent objectives in the use of the same outward form helps the minister to secure at least unified activity in the local church. Beyond this he is most likely to succeed by means of adroitness in the manipulation of a set of very mundane factors combined with scientific churchmanship.

One questions whether the unvarnished showing of Dr. Van Vleck's book will not be likely to frighten away from the ministry anyone who does not have a more exalted theory of it and a more compelling sense of inward necessity in undertaking its work than the author anywhere invokes. On the other hand, no minister can fail to find the book a salutary dose even though it may be a distasteful one.

H. PAUL DOUGLASS.

Two Great Faiths

CHRISTENDOM AND ISLAM. *By W. Wilson Cash. Harper & Brothers, $2.00.*

CHRISTENDOM and Islam are undoubtedly confronting each other at many points around the world. Anything that contributes therefore to a better mutual understanding between the two is of genuine value. This is particularly true in these latter days when both Christianity and Islam find themselves standing not so much one over against the other as together facing common rivals in secularism and nationalism. The long experience of the author in intimate contact with Islamic civilization and his profound study of Islam combine to fit him admirably for a discussion of the two great faiths. The lectures which form the book were given on the Haskell foundation in the Graduate School of Theology at Oberlin.

Approaching his subject distinctly as a Christian, Mr. Cash is on the whole quite fair in presenting the facts with reference to Islam. He maintains a commendable degree of objectivity in the greater part of his discussion, though true to his own convictions he becomes frankly a Christian missionary in the last chapter, in which he attempts to set forth the Christian answer to the Moslem quest. Against this there can be no serious objection. Indeed, it gives the book a positive value that is not always present for the average reader in a wholly dispassionate and disinterested discussion.

Islam, says Mr. Cash, is an eclectic faith. It represents the flowing together of diverse streams of religious thought and practice. It owes much to Judaism, not a little to Christianity, and of course a vast deal to the native religions of Arabia. His discussion of the expansion of Islam and the consequent shrinkage of Christianity is a very suggestive treatment of the theme, while his discussion of the contributions of Christianity to Islamic thought and life presents cogently the points at which Islam is most indebted to Christianity. It is probable that not all Moslems would recognize so great an influence on the part of Christianity, but in gen-

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eral the objective historian would agree pretty well with Mr. Cash's judgments. But if Christianity has contributed much to Islam, Moslem culture has made some highly significant contributions to European culture and has had a profound influence on the making of modern Europe. It is at this point that some Christians might be inclined to think that Mr. Cash has paid a greater tribute to Islam than the facts would seem to warrant, but again the objective historian will find little to criticize in his general treatment of the subject.

Islam is now in the throes of something approaching a revolution. The author calls it disintegration and he finds the major causes of this disintegration flowing back into Islam out of Europe. There is no exulting in this rather tragic breakdown of a great sister faith, for the author well knows that there are great values in that faith which are closely allied to values in his own faith and he cannot but feel concern at the apparent breakdown that is going on in Islam. It is just here that he feels Christianity has something to offer by way of a solution of the problems which Moslems confront, and he offers this with the spirit of humility which befits the Christian who is conscious of what his own faith is up against in an age which is proving a serious challenge to religion everywhere.

This is an excellent book for use as supplementary reading in courses in the history of religion and should prove of value to the leaders of missionary education who this year are making the Moslem world the focus of their study.

CHARLES S. BRADEN.

Books in Brief

THE ADVANCING FRONT OF SCIENCE. *By George W. Gray. Whittlesey House, $3.00.*

Current discoveries in science are news, sometimes headline news displayed with less regard to accuracy than to making a sensational impression. But it is not easy to give accurate and adequate information about a new discovery to those who have but vague ideas about earlier discoveries. Short of writing a complete history of science, which was far from his intention, Mr. Gray has done this thing about as well as it can be done, supplying the necessary background, explaining (where it was not possible to avoid) highly technical terminology, and otherwise tempering the wind to the shorn lamb. But he simplifies only in so far as this can be done without sacrifice of substance. The quantum theory cannot be discussed in words of one syllable, and the latest advances in physics and chemistry, in astronomy and biology, make somewhat rigorous demands upon the reader who would understand them, even with the assistance of a writer with a gift for clear statement. But they are well worth the effort. Science is not our Frankenstein. It is the ladder by which we climb. It may be remarked that Mr. Gray's book was a recent selection of the Scientific Book Club.

MAN, BREAD, AND DESTINY. *By C. C. Furnas and L. M. Furnas. Reynal & Hitchcock, $3.00.*

What could be more absorbing and enlightening than the history of food. Esau's sale of his birthright for a mess of pottage is not the only instance of history turning on the quest for food. Man's search for a suitable diet is an ever-present determiner of his destiny. The co-authors of this book have written a thorough and entertaining account of this aspect of history, and from the knowledge so gained, are prepared to give wholesome advice to the civilized man of today on what to eat. There are sections on such themes as The Power House, Essential Fuel, Good Food, Good Health, Dining, Economic Aspects, and The Future of Food. This is one possible approach to the problem of happiness and a not unimportant one in this can-opener age. It might well be on the "must" list of reading for all young housewives.

INSPIRED AMATEURS. *By Kevin Guinagh. Longmans, Green & Co., $2.00.*

Herschel was a musician who became one of the greatest of all astronomers. Priestley was a preacher who discovered oxygen. Schliemann was a merchant with a genius for making money who became the excavator of Troy and Mycenae. Spinoza was by trade a grinder of lenses. All these, and others about whose lives and work the author writes vivacious sketches, were amateurs in the fields in which they gained their fame. They were shoemakers who did not stick to their last, and the world is the richer for it. It is always a satisfying thing to be an amateur in something; but only "inspired amateurs" make significant contributions to the advancement of civilization.

POLITICS FROM INSIDE, AN EPISTOLARY CHRONICLE, 1906-1914. *By Sir Austen Chamberlain. Yale University Press, $5.00.*

Sir Austen was born to the inner circle of British politics. To be the son of Joseph Chamberlain was to be close to the center of things—a privilege Austen shared with his brother Neville, the present prime minister. The letters which form the bulk of this volume throw the more interesting light on the events of the period because they are frank and unstudied communications to and from members of the family, or intimate friends. It cannot be said that they give new information of great historical value, but they show the mind of a sincere and conscientious statesman, and they reveal the singularly congenial and intimate relations among the members of a family that was much in the public eye.

CHRIST AND SOCIAL CHANGE. *By Joseph Martin Dawson, Judson Press, $1.50.*

These twelve addresses by a leading minister in the Southern Baptist Church illustrate how conservative theology of today, just as liberal theology of the past quarter century, is coming under the burden of the social gospel. The urgency of chapters on "Pattern for Producing Social Change," "Can We Get Christ Into the Economic Order?" and "Can the Church Stop War?" leaves no doubt about the direction theological compasses are pointing these days. The author has little that is new but the fact that he is saying these things is of no little significance; that he is saying them within the accepted fellowship of his denomination is of even greater significance.

Books Received

Some for the Glory. By Louis Zara. Bobbs-Merrill, $2.75.

Roosevelt—and Then? By Stanley High. Harpers, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

Must We Go to War? A Book for Men with a subtitle for Women: Must American Women Send Their Men to Fight in Europe or Asia? By Kirby Page. Farrar & Rinehart, $1.00.

Rome and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820-1821, A Study in Papal Neutrality. By Joseph H. Brady. Columbia University Press, $2.50.

Triptych: Freeborn. By Agnes Miller. Driftwind Press, N. Montpelier, Vt. Poems, in which large ideas and strong emotions struggle, not without success, to break through the words.

Sam. By Edward Quigley and John Crawford. Stackpole Sons, $2.50. Mostly photographs—gorgeous ones—of a cat. The photographs are by Quigley; the text, also clever, by Crawford.

I Hear America Singing, An Anthology of Folk Poetry. Collected by Ruth A. Barnes. John C. Winston Co., $2.00. A song-bag of native low-brow verse from the cotton-fields, the plains, the mining

camps and hither and yon throughout this land of varied but vigorous folks.

Eastward Sweeps the Current. By Alida Sims Malkus. John C. Winston Co., $2.00. A "saga of the Polynesian seafarers," who sailed eastward on the Pacific about 300 A.D. Fiction not explicitly written for children but acceptable to anyone still in the age of adventure.

The Final Choice: America between Europe and Asia. By Stephen and Joan Rauschenbush. Reynal & Hitchcock, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

For Us in the Dark, A Novel. By Naomi Royde Smith. Macmillan, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

Jean & Co., Unlimited. By Helen Perry Curtis. John C. Winston Co., $2.00. A story for girls. An American Jean went to a school in France, met a lot of other Jeans from various countries, visited them in their homes and learned many things about Europe. A pleasant method of imparting information about all sorts of things from folk dances to cathedrals.

Notes on a Drum, Travel Sketches in Guatemala. By Joseph Henry Jackson. Macmillan, $3.00. It was natural that the author of that admirable book, *Mexican Interlude,* should extend his travels to Guatemala. Wise visitors to Mexico do. He does not go deeply into problems of politics or industry but describes agreeably the things of most interest to the traveler in search of the picturesque in scenery and life. Excellent photographs.

Towards the Twentieth Century, Essays in the Spiritual History of the Nineteenth. By H. V. Routh. Macmillan, $3.50. (To be reviewed.)

The History of Militarism, Romance and Realities of a Profession. By Alfred Vagts. W. W. Norton & Co., $4.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Royal Road to Mexico. By William C. S. Pellowe. Watergate Pub. Co., Detroit, $1.00. Record of an automobile trip, with such observations as an intelligent but rather casual traveler makes.

The Beloved Community. By Roger Lloyd. Macmillan, $2.25. (To be reviewed.)

The Wasted Land. By Gerald W. Johnson. University of North Carolina Press, $1.50. A study of the waste and utilization of land in the southeastern part of the United States, with comments on the human consequences and suggestions for improvement.

Revelation. Edited by John Baillie and Hugh Martin. Macmillan, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Ground Plan for Catholic Reading. By F. J. Sheed. Sheed & Ward, 50 cents. Reading courses in the Roman Catholic faith, listing and classifying about 100 works, with an introduction on a general plan for Catholic reading. Not only excellent for its intended purpose but also suggestive as a pattern for non-Catholic reading courses.

Jewish Literature Since the Bible. By Leon I. Feuer. Book I. Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Cincinnati, $1.25. Meant for Jewish young people but strongly to be recommended to Christians also. This volume contains an anthology of Jewish prose and poetry from the Apocrypha to the seventeenth century.

Rodin, A Biography. By Judith Cladel. Harcourt, $3.75. (To be reviewed.)

Primitive Faiths, By Elizabeth Stone Macdonald. Beacon Press. Pupils' book and Leader's Manual, 50 cents each. This is the first unit in a series on "what our neighbors believe." It is both written and produced with unusual skill. The pupils' book is richly illustrated. A real contribution to intelligent religious education.

Letters from Iceland. By W. H. Auden and Louis MacNeice. Random House, $3.00. A travel book extraordinary. The authors are two young English poets who spent six months in Iceland. They make their report in prose and verse, in graphs and photographs, and in an anthology of quotations from other visitors' writings about Iceland.

Beginnings of Earth and Sky, Stories Old and New. By Sophia L. Fahs. Beacon Press, $1.25. It may be that education should be "experience centered," but the child's imagination has a long reach and needs to be fed with some materials from long ago and far away. These stories of beginnings, as they have been understood by many peoples, have a place in the curriculum of religious teaching. Miss Fahs is, as everyone knows, an expert in this field and the book is good, as one would expect it to be. Its materials range all the way from Chinese legends to modern evolutionary astronomy.

Three Greek Plays. Translated with introductions by Edith Hamilton. W. W. Norton & Co., $2.50. The plays are "The Trojan Women" of Euripides and "Prometheus Bound" and "Agamemnon" of Aeschylus. Both the introductions and the English renderings are such as to beguile the reader to the rewarding occupation of re-reading (or just reading) these masterpieces of Greek tragedy.

The Light in the Window, Funeral Sermons and Outlines. By R. E. Golladay. Zondervan Pub. House, Grand Rapids, $1.00. Suggestive outlines for ministry to the bereaved.

The Secret of a Beautiful Life. By Dallas C. Baer. Zondervan, $1.50. A volume of vigorous sermons by an able Lutheran minister.

Beyond Dilemmas: Quakers Look at Life. Edited by S. B. Laughlin. J. B. Lippincott Co., $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Better Village Schools. By Mason Olcott. Y.M.C.A. Pub. House, Calcutta, Rs.3. A "programme of action for India." And not only that but a thorough study of Indian village life, its needs and the place of education in any plan for its betterment.

CORRESPONDENCE

Our Armada in the Pacific

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: You wisely conclude that our Congress might well grant President Manuel Quezon's repeated requests that independence be given the Philippines in a year or two, in place of waiting until 1946—"Eventually; why not now?"

When President Quezon first announced his desire for more immediate independence, it seemed to many that the announcement was a political move, for the press had stated last spring that General Aguinaldo and Mr. Sumulong, leaders of the party asking for more immediate independence, were to sail for the United States. These gentlemen abandoned the plan to come to this country soon after the Quezon announcement.

President Quezon is said to hope for continued trade relations with the United States after the Republic of the Philippines is set up; it is hoped that Congress will grant the Filipinos generous trade privileges for a few years. Quezon believes that any such trade arrangements will be less liable to sudden change if embodied in a treaty between an independent Philippine republic and the United States.

President Quezon apparently desires an independent Philippines with authority to send out Filipino ministers and ambassadors to and make treaties with any or all nations, to join the League of Nations and to control at Manila such matters as tariffs, immigration and coinage—now under the control of our Congress. He apparently desires an independent republic in political and military alliance with the United States—each country being under obligation to go to war to aid the other in case of need. Washington would have no veto on Philippine treaties or legislation; in fact, the privilege of defending our ally state half-way around the world would seem to be the only privilege for the United States in any such arrangement. The plan as outlined by the press is much like the British-Irak treaty of amity and alliance of 1930. Iraq, however, is a territory lying well within the borders of England's imperial dominions and is a strategic asset to Britain.

A distinct advantage for America in granting immediate Philippine independence would be the removal of the efforts of the supernavy advocates for continued additions to the fleet in the Pacific—efforts based on the illusion that the United States can defend the widely spread Philippine archipelago when Japan and her many mandated islands lie squarely between our west coast and the Philippines on both the sea routes to the Orient; also on the illusion of there being a possible base at Manila, in reality a far-off and indefensible salient.

We are now rapidly assembling in Pacific waters what I believe is the greatest aggregation of battleships and combat airplanes the world has ever seen in one place. I feel that by no use of the imagination can anyone decide that our battle assemblage in the north Pacific ocean is required or necessary for the defense of Alaska, the Hawaiian Islands, continental United States and the

Panama Canal—our normal defense line. The only excuse for using such a battle armada will be the dangerous and illusory doctrine of some extremists—that an aggressive defense is always the best defense. Such a doctrine may well bring on a war.

The Japanese will not annex an independent Philippines, for it would disrupt Japanese trade in the Philippines and necessitate the division of the Japanese fleet opposite Soviet Russia.

New York. WILLIAM C. RIVERS,
Major General, U. S. Army (Retired).

Is There a Middle Way?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your spontaneous symposium on a Japanese boycott leaves me with the conviction that there must be a defensible middle way between inactive neutrality and a blunt economic break. I helped draft and signed the recent F.O.R. statement on a "Christian Asiatic Policy," but I remain unhappy at any such pronouncement or action which increases or, even worse, justifies the popular idea that pacifism and passive-ism are the same thing. As between Sayre and Niebuhr, I should choose the "ascetic's" stand, but I doubt if we have so restricted a choice.

Can we not promote a form of boycott which will neutralize probable American hate and diminish certain Japanese resentment? Since, in my opinion, we must continually experiment with feasible forms of nonmilitary coercion (however great our misgivings), I am willing to join in a Japanese boycott others who will sign some such pledge as the following:

I hereby agree to buy no more Japanese goods until all Japanese troops are withdrawn from China, except those there by treaty right.

I further agree to contribute to a relief fund for use in Japan a sum approximating the net amount withheld from Japanese trade by my buyer's strike. If the distribution of such funds in Japan is not permitted at present, I wish them held until such time as they are welcomed.

I participate in this boycott as the only tangible means I can find of registering my disapproval of an exceptionally ruthless and unjustifiable use of military force. I promote the creation of a relief fund as a concrete expression of friendship for the people of Japan and in recognition that they have no greater responsibility for the national policies of their country than I have for the many sins of which my own government is guilty.

New York City. VERNON NASH.

From China's Interior

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It is a privilege to be here in the interior of China where we have remained in spite of five letters from the consular officers asking us to leave. While in America I was afraid that the trouble would break before we could get back; so we changed our sailing to an earlier boat and got through Shanghai and Nanking just in time. I did not call on the consuls in either place for fear they might refuse to allow us to go into the interior. After 34 years of fellowship with the Chinese here, Mrs. Hanson and I wanted to be here when the great conflict, the great fight for freedom is on. If we had gone to the coast at the first suggestion of danger, it would have been dropping into the "hireling" class and would have been seeking to save a physical life at the expense of something much higher.

It is good to see in the papers some evidence that Western nations are interested in China's fight to keep civilization from dropping back to the jungle. As the Chinese leaders say, this is more than a war between two nations, it is a war against the breaker of treaties and the ruthless destroyer of cultural institutions and of defenseless children. Imagine if you can the result if China should be conquered and these hundreds of millions Koreanized in preparation for the next step into India! Then step by step this Japanese civilization would march round the world.

Probably I am not properly neutral in this time of war. Neutrality would be a difficult matter for one who has lived in this country so long and especially through the years since the rape of Manchuria.

We have over 1,000 wounded soldiers in this little city and another 1,000 are on the way; so the war is brought very close, especially when our own mission hospital receives the most serious cases. Our cooperation is much appreciated by the men in charge of the army hospital. Incidentally, this service we are rendering is going to cost us a considerable amount which will not be repaid by the government and we are hoping that special help may come from overseas.

There are over 600 pupils in our schools and over 100 refugees in the yard, not to mention the patients in the hospital, so we are not lonely. And we are not in the ranks of the unemployed.

Methodist Episcopal Church PERRY O. HANSON.
Taian, Shantung, China.

Boycott Britain Too?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I ask Mr. Stanley Jones, through your columns, if we should not "boycott" Great Britain as well as Japan?

A recent copy of *World Events* informs me that Great Britain is engaged in a war in Waziristan costing $225,000 a day. The "Annual Review" of the Socialist Committee for Indian Independence is quoted as saying: "The British bombing of Indian tribesmen on the northwest frontier, and the heavy loss of life on both sides, have now continued for over nine months. The destruction of cattle, crops and huts has caused enormous damage. Helpless women and children are still fleeing for their lives to seek shelter in caves from British guns and bombs."

Now the British are reported to justify this bombing on the ground that it is bringing about "gradual pacification, civilization and economic betterment of the tribesmen." I have just heard a Japanese newspaperman say: "Japan is playing the good neighbor to China. Japan wants to help China free herself from unequal treaties imposed on her by Western powers." These statements sound very similar to me.

May I ask Mr. Jones, or any ardent boycotter, how to justify a boycott on one of the aggressor nations without doing the same for the other?

Lockport Baptist Church, FRANKLIN D. ELMER, JR.
Lockport, N. Y.

A Church Conference on Peace

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As the world drifts nearer to war, the Christian church is almost as confused as it was in 1914 concerning the proper course to pursue. And yet, unless the church can give a clear lead, and give it soon, it will be too late to avert the holocaust. Stanley Jones has definitely taken up the advocacy of the boycott; Rufus Jones, Nevin Sayre, Harold Fey and others oppose it. The peace organizations call for the application of the neutrality law; many are sure that to apply it would be to play into the hands of Japan. No church leaders are advocating war as yet, but in Britain nearly the whole church is behind the rearmament program, and Sherwood Eddy says "the world must either yield to Hitler and fascism or it must fight them." It would not take much to have the battle lines drawn as in 1914, and the church drawn into the whole sorry business all over again. At least in our present confused state we are giving the world no constructive leadership toward a real peace.

If we believe in the possibility of a corporate discovery of the mind of the Spirit, surely it is time for the leaders of the Christian church in America to come together, not to argue for their respective views, but to seek the guidance of God for our time on this particular matter. Is not this important enough to bring Stanley Jones from Manila, and Rufus Jones from Haverford, and Sayre and Fey and Eddy and Libby and the rest from New York, Charles Clayton Morrison from Chicago, and others who might desire to think with them, to some central place where without haste they could think this matter through under the Spirit's guiding? Must we not do some such thing to help the church take the position of leadership it ought to take before the night falls?

Union Methodist Episcopal Church, LOWELL B. HAZZARD.
Quincy, Illinois.

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NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Duce Rebuked for Colonies Stand

Eden Charges Italy with Hypocrisy In Supporting German Demands—Labor Makes Gains

(Correspondence from England)

LONDON, Nov. 2.—Parliament's first debates have been remarkable for a fiery speech by Mr. Lloyd George, who lashed at the government for its cowardice, and for a speech last night by Mr. Eden. Evidently the government has been deeply moved by the language of the Duce concerning the German claim to colonies. Italy was told in language which goes to the verge of diplomatic politeness that Britain will not allow Italy to dictate its policy. So long as Italy itself holds the gains which were hers at the end of the war, it has no right to demand that others shall do what it will not do itself. After he had spoken, Mr. Eden left for Brussels.

The opening of Parliament was marked by the customary traditional splendor. The king's speech had no surprises. It is announced that the king of the Belgians is to visit the king this month, and the king of Rumania in the spring. It is known that the king of the Belgians has a concern for improving the conditions under which nations trade with one another. He may take the occasion for discussing the economic problems of the hour, especially the lowering of tariffs.

It cannot be said that our people set much store by what is left of the nonintervention pact. But there is no clear-cut alternative. To those who would appeal to the league, Mr. Eden made an effective retort. The league is not at all a body which can speak with one voice, and it wants to keep out of the Spanish war as much as possible.

It would seem curious to the Englishmen of Palmerston's day to hear that British subjects have been killed and British ships attacked with impunity. But there is comparatively little of the old *civis Romanus sum* spirit today, and most of us do not want it to return.

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Poet Points to Meaning Of Armistice Day

In a letter which appeared in the *Sunday Times* Mr. Laurence Binyon makes a plea for unity in the celebration of Nov. 11. His letter is not unworthy of the pen which wrote:

> They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old.

He shows how today in a new world "we live menaced; there is no security in our thoughts. It is the troubled present, the utterly unpredictable future that preoccupy us, not the past." What then does it mean to remember Nov. 11? Not only to remember the dead: "Nov. 11 calls us to search our hearts and to vow once again that we will use our utmost effort that that inconceivable waste and loss shall not be all in vain. It is not only the comforts of peace that we crave, but good will among men. It is not only the hideous futility of war that we have to fight against; it is the deep-down human greed that in peace and in war alike works for the world's misery."

It might be well if we could break away for a short time from our plans to deal with a war which may come to consider the appeal of this poet.

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Police Brutality Punished

Two prisoners escaped from Wandsworth prison in September. They were recaptured and contrary to all regulations were brutally treated by four prison officers. Three of these officers have been dismissed; the fourth has already left the service. The prison commissioners instituted an inquiry, and are able to report to Parliament that in recent years such an outrage is unique. It is disquieting that it should even be possible and there is need for constant vigilance, of which Sir Samuel Hoare is clearly aware. There does not seem any ground for believing that such brutality is common. But no one must assume that because prisons are far more humanely managed than formerly, there is no room for further improvement.

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Labor Makes Gains In London

The elections in the boroughs outside London have not shown any great drift one way or the other—left or right—but in London Labor has made marked advances. It is very idle for the Conservatives to warn electors against the perils of voting for the socialists. A few fascists stood, but with even less response than the communists, and they are few enough. So far there are no signs of any totalitarian movement. The figures for London are given this evening: the Municipal Reformers have lost 55 seats and gained 3; Labor has gained 57 and lost 4. For the first time Labor has a majority in Hammersmith and Lambeth. Mr. Morrison, the Labor leader in London, has reason for satisfaction.

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And So Forth

The frank words of the Duke of Windsor to journalists in Paris have been welcomed here; there are few who do not wish that the duke and duchess may be left free as private individuals to make their contribution toward the solving of some of our vital problems. The idea that they should be condemned to a life of pleasure, when they seek for some service to do, is altogether contemptible.

Our radio service is henceforth to use other languages as well as English; a beginning is to be made with Arabic and Spanish. It is announced that there will not be propaganda. It will be hard to resist the temptation to propaganda through selection.

The choice of Rev. James Fraser to be moderator of the English Presbyterian church is announced. He has been minister for 23 years in Kentish Town, where he has gathered round him a company of young people always ready to make experiments. He is a Christian pacifist. His church has not only honored him but honored itself by its choice.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Churchmen Make Report on Strike

Brooklyn Eagle Struggle in Third Month —Dr. John McDowell Dies—'Hangchow' Conference to Meet in India

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, Nov. 15.—The *Brooklyn Eagle* strike is beginning its third month. Last night a group of clergymen and laymen who have investigated it took part in a panel discussion designed to enable them to pass on to church people what they had learned. This kind of forum, held under the joint auspices of the commission on economic justice of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation and the Church of the Holy Trinity, avoided the difficulty of getting both sides represented directly on the same platform and avoided also the bitterness that sometimes develops when they are. Among the things these churchmen had learned was the complexity of the ethical problem facing a losing business apparently unable to meet just demands of the workers, the weakness of a divided labor movement, and the need for imaginative farsighted cooperation by both sides.

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Advise Churches Move To Suburbs

The question where the church people in the city are disappearing to has been answered with some show of figures by a committee of the archdeaconry of Westchester county of the Episcopal Church. They are moving to Westchester—at least the Episcopalians are. Episcopal parishes in Manhattan had a net loss of 8,000 of their 54,000 members in the last quarter century, a loss of 15 per cent. Their sister parishes in Westchester had a net gain of 13,000 over their 11,000 membership 25 years ago—a gain of 118 per cent. On the basis of these figures the committee invited moribund city parishes in their search for green pastures to move to the suburbs instead of to other parts of the city. The committee said these parishes might "welcome an opportunity to be placed in a situation where the number of church people is increasing rather than decreasing." Its report also implied that diocesan authorities were keeping young Westchester churches in the status of missions longer than necessary. The diocesan bishop has sole power of appointment of the clergy in charge of missions. The suffragan bishop of New York, Rt. Rev. Charles K. Gilbert, was chairman of the committee. The report was adopted unanimously by the archdeaconry.

* * *

Dr. Goodspeed Speaks at National Book Fair

Religious books and their authors were featured yesterday at the national book fair in the Rockefeller Center. Dr. Edgar J. Goodspeed, well known modern translator of the Bible, told the audience in the auditorium that the early Christians were probably first to use the leaf-book, the bound book of

pages as it is now known. Such pages from Christian literature are extant as far back as the year 140. Classical literature was published in the roll form up to the fourth century. Father Wilfred Parsons, former editor of *America,* now professor of modern history in Georgetown University, pointed out the religious aspects of communism: "its revealed truth, its heretics, its self-denial; its training of youth to suffer even death for their faith; its apostles, missionaries, love of the poor. It comes to us in almost every respect as the counterpart of religion—minus God!" He said Catholic literature was more and more favorable to the collectivistic trend represented by communism and fascism, but in religious and democratic terms.

* * *

Cardinal Hayes Honored at 70

Cardinal Hayes will receive on his 70th birthday this Saturday a "spiritual bouquet" in the form of an album recording the spiritual acts performed "as an intention" for the cardinal. The "bouquet" prepared under the direction of Mgr. Lavelle, rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral, is to be presented by the almost 200,000 children in Catholic schools in the archdiocese.

* * *

Dr. John McDowell, Former Presbyterian Moderator, Dies

Two leading churchmen underwent operations at the Medical Center at the same time last week, Bishop Francis J. McConnell and Dr. John McDowell. Bishop McConnell was reported as recovering satisfactorily, but Dr. McDowell died two days later, at the age of 67. Since 1923 he had been secretary of the Presbyterian Board of National Missions. He was moderator of the General Assembly of his church in 1934.

* * *

Methodists to Raise China Relief Fund

The Methodist Board of Foreign Missions and the women's missionary society have sent an appeal to all their churches to raise a China emergency relief fund. The money is to go to Chinese Methodist pastors and church members left homeless and starving by the war, refugee camps, etc.

* * *

'Hangchow' Conference To Meet in India

War in China has compelled the international missionary conference scheduled for Hangchow in the fall of 1938 to transfer itself to Madras or Allahabad. It is to call itself "Hangchow in India." A group has been meeting here under the chairmanship of Dr. Cavert of the Federal Council of Churches to prepare material on the social implications of Christianity. Richard Niebuhr and John Bennett were chief protagonists at a recent session.

* * *

Church Rebuilds After Fire

Churches destroyed by fire show no greater desire to merge with their neighbors than those swept away by flood. The Central Presbyterian Church in a district in Brooklyn overchurched by reason of a decline in the white Protestant population, gutted by fire a year ago, has been rebuilt and opened for service. Pending completion of the new building the congregation worshiped at the Marcy Avenue Baptist Church.

BRADFORD YOUNG.

Dr. James Black New Moderator

Church of Scotland Elects Widely Known Preacher and Writer—Dick Sheppard Mourned

(Correspondence from Scotland)

WHITLEY BAY, Nov. 4.—A more popular choice for next year's moderator of the Church of Scotland Assembly could hardly have been made than that of Dr. James Black of St. George's West, Edinburgh. Ordained 34 years ago at Forres in the north, he was transferred after a short pastorate of four years to the important Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh. Here he served for 14 years, subject to the interruption of his three years' chaplaincy in France (during which he rose to the rank of major and was awarded the O.B.E.). In 1921 he was called to the leading church of the then United Free Church of Scotland, where he has been preaching to large congregations—usually capacity congregations—ever since. This is the church which was built in 1869 for Dr. Candlish and those of his congregation who had come out of the old St. George's with him at the 1843 disruption, and which has had only notable preachers since: Dr. Candlish, Dr. Alexander Whyte, Dr. Hugh Black (now of Union Seminary, New York), and Dr. John Kelman. It is a most exacting charge, where a man has in a unique sense to be always at his best, for there are never meager nor undiscriminating congregations.

A few years ago while the building was closed for extensive alterations, the office-bearers had the courageous faith to rent the huge Usher Hall near by for the Sunday services. In spite of the seating capacity being thus abruptly doubled, the morning congregations were sufficient to occupy a large part of the accommodation, while the evening congregations grew until the two large galleries came to be packed each night and hundreds of people were turned away from the doors.

* * *

Popular Preacher And Writer

Dr. James Black is also our best known preacher "furth of Scotland." Being a brother to Prof. Hugh Black and to Dr. Archibald Black of Montclair, he has had an immediate and an enthusiastic welcome wherever he has gone in America. His pulpit gifts in his own right have brought him more than one transatlantic call from important pulpits, which have been difficult to turn down. In 1933 he gave the James Sprunt Lectures in Union Seminary, Richmond, Va., while in 1928 he traveled to Melbourne to give the Turnbull Lectures and to preach for six months in the Scots church there. His most popular book has been *The Mystery of Preaching,* the Warrack Lectures of a dozen years ago, but he has also written *An Apology for Rogues, The Burthen of the Weeks, The Dilemmas of Jesus, The Foes of the Faith, The Man on the Other Cross, Around the Guns, The Pilgrim Ship,* and *The Unlocked Door.* He has a vivid personality, a winsome charm, a Rothesay burr, and a dramatic delivery that are all his own in this country—though in the summer if you shut your eyes, you can't be sure whether it is he or a brother on

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* * *

Baptists Hear Cabinet Member

The Baptist Union of Scotland has elected as its vice-president this year (which means he will become president in 1938), Rev. W. Holms Coats, principal of the Scottish Baptist College. His father, Dr. Nervis Coats, served in these same two capacities a generation ago.

The Baptist Union is the only denomination to have its annual meetings in the autumn. This year the union was fortunate enough to secure a member of the cabinet to address them, Mr. Ernest Brown, M.P., minister of labor. It was a packed house of church people whom he addressed, and he showed himself quite at home in a religious atmosphere. In fact, he was a lay preacher before he was a politician, and now that he has so many affairs of state on his shoulders, he still continues his lay preaching with a fervor and evangelical zeal which are refreshing. He quotes Scripture with fluent ease, giving chapter and verse without reference to notes. His statement that it is easier to preach a sermon on peace than a sermon about the saving of a soul evoked a ready response from his audience.

* * *

Pacifists Encouraged by Glasgow Elections

The passing of Canon Dick Sheppard will have been noted in other columns. His connection with Scotland hitherto has been largely through people "listening in" on his broadcasts, but he did come to Glasgow in 1927 to receive a D.D. degree. Just a week before his death, however, he was chosen lord rector by the students of Glasgow University. This used to be a political office, but Earl Baldwin, who scraped in by 66 votes in 1928 was the last candidate to win on a party platform, and Winston Churchill was a poor third in this year's triennial election. The victory was a great surprise to the public. It was won partly through the pacifist party having secured much the most brilliant and persuasive group of speakers mustered by any of the parties. They had, for instance, Dr. George Macleod, C. E. M. Joad, Miss Rose Macaulay and Middleton Murry (the candidates themselves do not appear on the hustings). It was probably also partly due to the fact that 54 per cent of the women students voted, but only 27 per cent of the men (it was unfortunately an apathetic election with less than a third of the student body voting at all). But it was partly also a definite expression of opinion of the new generation, impatient of the success of the old methods to order the world aright.

* * *

Dick Sheppard Mourned

There is great sorrow in Glasgow over Canon Sheppard's untimely passing and that he did not have opportunity to deliver his rectorial address. Dr. George Macleod in a pulpit reference on Sunday night said among other things: "The fullness of the stature of Christ is not granted to any man, but most of us would choose Christ's sympathy if we were proffered a choice of the divine virtues. And in that most precious sphere Dick Sheppard will remain for all who came in contact with him the most Christlike man of their acquaintance."

MARCUS A. SPENCER.

Prohibition Works In South India

New Law in Madras Presidency Proves Effective—Christians Join Hindus And Moslems in Support

(Correspondence from India)

NAGPUR, Oct. 25.—It is barely a month since prohibition has come into force in the Salem district of the Madras presidency, and the Madras prime minister, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who has been touring in the district and watching the working of the prohibition measures, is very much pleased with the hearty cooperation of the public in making prohibition effective.

The General Assembly of the South India United Church at its session last week expressed its "deep appreciation of the courageous and statesmanlike efforts of the government of Madras" in introducing prohibition into the Salem district with a view to making it general throughout the presidency. The assembly assured the government that the officials and members of the South India United Church in the Madras presidency will give their hearty and loyal support to the government in this endeavor. The South India United Church has a total membership of over 280,000. The fact that the General Assembly of this church "pledges itself to use all its agencies such as churches, schools, societies, magazines and public meetings to impart knowledge and urge action along the line of temperance and prohibition, as well as in all other moral and social endeavors" will go a great way in removing the doubts that Hindus and Moslems have about the attitude of Christians towards prohibition.

* * *

Churches Require Total Abstinence From Office-Holders

In four of the eight church councils of the South India United Church one of the qualifications for an office-bearer in the church is total abstinence from alcoholic drink. The assembly resolved that all its constituent church councils should adopt the same rule and should seriously consider whether the time had not come in South India to make total abstinence a condition of church membership.

* * *

Advise Use of Non-Fermented Wines in Communion

Where such was not already the practice the assembly resolved to urge upon the councils the use of non-fermented grape juice or its equivalent in the central act of the worship of the church. The assembly further recommended that continuous and definite instruction should be given in churches and schools concerning the value of total abstinence, and that young people should be encouraged to distribute temperance handbills as a help in the present provincial campaign. The Christian Literature Society was asked to publish a greater variety of such handbills.

* * *

Progress of Church Union In South India

It was at the General Assembly of the South India United Church which met in 1935 that the church union scheme received

a setback, because some of the constituent church councils of the assembly were not in favor of the union scheme as formulated by the joint committee of the three negotiating churches—namely the Anglican Church, the Methodist Church (English) and the South India United Church. The assembly's committee on church union again presented its report at the present session. The view was expressed that since the Lambeth Conference would meet in 1940, it would be good for the S.I.U. Church to express at its next assembly in 1939 its final opinions and wishes, especially on the major problems connected with the proposed scheme of union. But that would not mean that the action taken during the next two years would be final. The decisions of the 1940 Lambeth Conference would enable the Anglican Church in India to express its further views on the matter and these would have to come before the assembly of the S.I.U. Church in 1941.

* * *

Lambeth, 1940, May Make Changes

It is quite possible that as the result of the pronouncement of the 1940 Lambeth Conference on some of the issues of the scheme the conference of the Methodist Church in England may revise the terms on which it has permitted the Methodist Church in South India to enter into the proposed union. Even the South India United Church, which is an "independent" church, has to take into consideration the views of the British and American mission boards on the terms of the union, as a great many of the activities of this church are dependent on the financial grants given by these foreign mission boards.

* * *

Changes Proposed in Scheme of Union

The General Assembly, after noting with deep satisfaction the growing desire on the part of Christians for closer fellowship with each other and the real desire also for corporate union and after reaffirming its genuine desire to do all in its power to promote the union of the three churches now negotiating, adopted the following resolutions recommending some changes in the proposed scheme of union: "Realizing that there are still a few vital matters in the proposed scheme of union that are not satisfactory to some of the councils of the South India United Church or to some of their parent societies or churches, the General Assembly urges the joint committee on union to adopt the following changes, believing that such changes will enable the councils of the S.I.U. Church to empower the assembly in 1939 to give approval to the scheme and proceed with steps leading to the consummation of union: (a) The number of lay delegates in the synod of the church should be equal to the number of ministerial delegates [in the present scheme the laymen are in a minority]. (b) As a confirmation of the mutual recognition of the ministries of the word and sacraments in the three negotiating churches . . . the assembly urges that steps be taken to secure the adoption of the practice of inter-communion and inter-celebration among the three negotiating churches before union. The assembly believes that if this is done, one of the chief obstacles to union will be removed. (c) The assembly urges that provision be made in the scheme to permit a diocesan council, if it so desired, to frame rules with due safeguards for the

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The constituent church councils of the assembly will now be asked to report early in 1939 whether they are prepared to accept the proposed scheme if these modifications are embodied in it.

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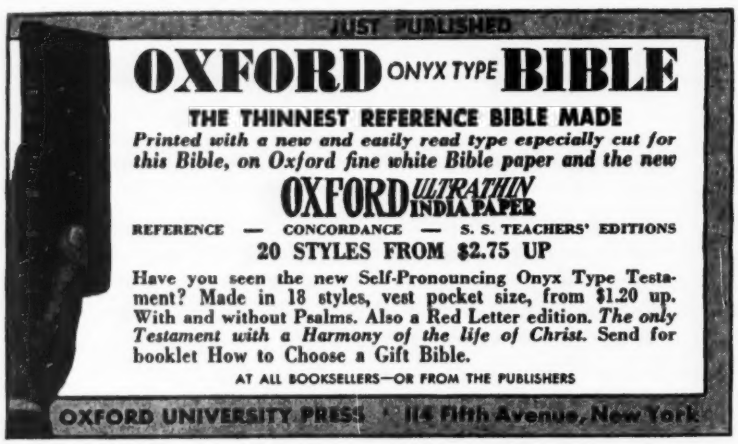
Westminster Dedicates Machen Memorial Hall

On its new campus near Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Westminster Seminary recently dedicated the J. Gresham Machen Memorial Hall. President Edward H. Rian of the board of trustees gave the address.

Dr. Jacobus of Hartford Dies at 81

Dr. Melancthon Williams Jacobus, dean emeritus and acting president of Hartford Theological Seminary, died of pneumonia on Nov. 1 at 81 years of age. Dr. Jacobus, well known as a New Testament scholar, came to Hartford Seminary in 1891 as Hosmer Professor of New Testament.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Social Credit Acts Vetoed

King's Representative in Alberta Refuses to Approve Aberhart Program—Case Goes to Supreme Court

(Correspondence from Alberta)

Edmonton, Nov. 5.—A special session of the Alberta legislature was held in September. Three acts passed failed to receive the assent of the lieutenant-governor. They were: (1) A new "Credit of Alberta Regulation" act, designed to take the place of an act earlier disallowed by the federal cabinet. (2) A bank taxation act, imposing prohibitive taxes on banks doing business here. (3) A press act, having the effect of confiscating newspaper space for government purposes.

The functions of the lieutenant-governor have now ceased with respect to these acts and it is for the federal cabinet to advise Lord Tweedsmuir whether assent is to be given or refused. If such assent is given within a year they become operative, and if no action is taken, the acts automatically die. This whole matter together with the question of the right of federal disallowance of provincial acts, and its limits, if any, has now been submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada, and ultimately, no doubt, will get to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in England.

* * *

Freedom of Press at Stake In Legal Battle

The immediate process is intricate and hard for any but lawyers to grasp, involving precedents and constitutional rights of an obscure nature. It is almost everywhere held by students of the subject that the power of disallowance stands, but a delineation by federal authorities of the limits of such power, if any, will be welcomed. It is also widely held that Ottawa will ultimately have to say what position is to be taken with respect to the three acts mentioned above, from the point of view of the general good of Canada. Many have been grateful meanwhile for the power still vested in the lieutenant-governor to refuse assent to provincial acts; the present representative of the king in that office, Lieut.-Gov. J. C. Bowen, is a man of royal dignity and quiet determination.

The pertinence of all this for readers is that it involves the freedom of the press in Alberta, and the question whether this province is still to be a part of Canada, as well as such matters as the right of banks to do business here.

* * *

Opposition Growing to Social Credit

Pamphlets and posters have been issued against those who are anti-Social-Credit. Some of these were placed on the desks of members of the legislature, naming prominent citizens as "bankers' toadies" and calling for their "extermination." In connection with this, G. F. Powell, British Social Credit "expert," representative of Major Douglas and present supposed real ruler of Alberta, and J. H. Unwin, Social Credit whip in the house, were arrested on four charges; namely, seditious libel, defamatory libel, defamatory libel well knowing the same to be false, and counseling to murder. They are now

released on bail of $20,000 each until Supreme Court assizes.

Civil servants are still being dismissed and replaced by Social Creditors and fear stalks in all government offices. Vocal opposition is gathering strength on the radio, in the press and in pulpits. The press has played a gallant part throughout according to its best traditions, and this accounts for the resolve of the powers-that-be to end its freedom.

* * *

Rural Areas Still Behind Aberhart

A recent bye-election went against Social Credit, but rural Alberta still follows Aberhart in its majority, though the tide is turning. He has taught the people to be content with nothing less than the cancellation of all debts and a gratuity of at least $25 a month.

* * *

Church Groups to Study World Conference Reports

Steps are being taken to extend the organization of the "Committee on the Evangelization of Canadian Life," in Alberta as well as elsewhere in Canada. It is hoped that interdenominational groups will begin study at an early date of the findings of Oxford and Edinburgh. Rev. C. G. Stone of First Baptist Church, Edmonton, our Alberta representative, conferred with a central committee in Toronto about this.

* * *

Famine Drives Churches Into Mergers

Necessity continues to lead to unity in the west. At Eyremore in the south one Lutheran minister is to minister to his own flock and that of the United Church of Canada. From Tilley to the Saskatchewan boundary and south to the United States there is no crop and no feed. Most of the live-stock has been shipped out, thousands of head; most farmers in the area are on relief. Scores of car-loads of fruit and vegetables are being sent into the dry belt in Alberta as elsewhere; one or two distinguished scientists have visited the region this year and give us hope that a rain cycle will begin "next year." The caprice of weather may any year turn the present recipients of help into benefactors—which they have often been before. International good will Sunday will be observed in Medicine Hat Nov. 14, when a minister from there will exchange with one from Great Falls; there is to be an evening rally of all churches.

* * *

Calgary Audience Backs Boycott

Dr. G. W. Sparling, of West China University, is giving addresses before churches and other groups on the Sino-Japanese war. An audience of 4,000 in Calgary protested Jap aggression in China, subscribed a collection of $500 for Chinese refugees and approved boycott of Japanese goods.

* * *

Predicts Shortage Of Ministers

Principal Tuttle of St. Stephen's College in the University of Alberta has made a statement about the shortage of United Church ministers in Alberta. The situation will make for a crisis which the church is not preparing to meet. In pioneer days before the war young men were readily available from Britain and East Canada. None come now from the old land and hardly any from the east. The glamor of adventure has faded from the prairies. Again, union in 1925 created a surplus of ministers, and, inasmuch as western ministers were young or middle-aged at that time, few were retiring; no effort was made to turn men to the ministry.

The evidence of this indifference is that several presbyteries and scores of churches have never sent a single candidate into the ministry of the church at home or abroad, The principal points out that this is far from being a healthy condition and that "no church can hope to prosper that fails in its primary duty of furnishing its own ministry." Older men are now facing retirement and the shortage will be very real in a few years unless ministers, leaders of youth and parents assume their responsibility in this regard.

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(Special Correspondence)

NEW YORK, Nov. 15.—In a land of unusual beauty and among a people of unrivaled hospitality a large group of individuals from the United States and Canada took part in a conference tour of Eastern Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island this past summer. They studied the progress of the cooperative experiments carried on there by the extension department of St. Francis Xavier University. Ninty-one individuals registered, coming from 18 states, the District of Columbia, and six provinces of Canada. Each one was a leader, and related to some cooperative venture in his or her local community. The group was composed of priests, ministers, social workers, college professors, school teachers and businessmen. There were Catholics, Jews and Protestants; colored and white. Probably one of the most real experiences of the entire venture was to see this group, forgetting country, creed and color, welded into a close fellowship of one purpose and interest as a result of living and studying together during those two weeks.

Study Cooperation

For five days we visited the lobster factories, fish stores, credit unions in steel plants and mines, cooperative stores, farmers cooperatives and craft shops where women's handcraft was displayed. We saw buildings being constructed by the people, from lumber they had cut and drawn themselves, and in which they had a unique pride of possession. We talked with countless fisher-folk, farmers, miners or steel workers; men who had lost hope and were the slaves of a system, but who were now courageous and daring in their new ventures of cooperation together. We listened to men, young and old, as they themselves told the story of what they were doing. They knew the facts and the answers. We saw long lines of miners as they received their pay and then went directly to the credit union to deposit their small amount—50 cents, $1., $2.,—toward their accounts. We saw the drab homes of these poor people which had become new with carpets and other materials woven by the women. We saw sisters teaching them, priests and ministers leading them, as they went on with their various study classes and cooperative ventures.

Cooperatives Make Surprising Progress

It is almost impossible to give statistics which will tell the stories in so brief a space, but here are a few:

Six years ago, the first credit union was started after 22 miners in a study club decided to take up a collection as the initial capital. Six dollars was all they could give between them. Today, there are 106 credit unions with $425,000 of capital.

Last year was an excellent fish year, and this year one of the poorest they have had in the memory of many of the natives. Yet, in L'Ardoise, the men are making more money than they did last year. Why? During last winter they built four large fish stores (places where they salt down mackerel and other fish) which they are running themselves. They saved $1,200 on buying their salt cooperatively, hundreds more on fishing supplies, barrels and other necessary equipment. Then, by selling directly and cooperatively through the fishermen's union, they received 17 cents a pound instead of six cents as they had received last year from the buyer.

At Tarbot there are 30 farmers' families. The farms are made up of poor, rocky soil in a small valley amongst the mountains of northeast Cape Breton. They lived a lonely and meager existence. They did form a study group, however, and started a credit union. Money was almost unknown, yet from their small pittances they saved six hundred dollars. With this they bought fertilizer, seed and feed cooperatively. They thus saved themselves over two hundred dollars this spring. (Little enough to us, but a fortune to them!) They are studying goat, sheep and turkey culture. Thirty families with a new hope!

Participate in Conference

The last three days were spent at Antigonish, where we took part in the annual rural and industrial conference of the extension department of the university. The president of the conference is Father Coady; the vice-president, Rev. A. Nelson MacDonald, a United Church pastor; and the secretary is A. B. MacDonald, a layman. The group listened to Herbert Agar, the editor of *Free America,* or to young Father MacKinnon, an extreme liberal, but with his feet firmly on the ground, or to Bertram Fowler, the author of *Consumer Cooperation in America.* The 800 delegates voted unanimously to form a cooperative wholesale for the maritime provinces, and to further increase their services. It was an inspiring sight to see the building packed to overflowing and 200 or more who could not get in standing on the outside to listen over a loud speaker. They were just common fishermen, miners, farmers, or steel workers; but they were men and women who were doing things themselves. People with a new vision and a new hope.

Church Is the Center

Probably the most significant thing about it all was that it is centered in religion and in the church. The priests and ministers are the men behind the scenes. And they are really that. The people were doing it, but these men were giving them the suggestions. The church is the center of these communities, and the priest or minister is the leader. It is a program based upon the most advanced social thinking, and yet grounded in the deepest religious conviction. If all our priests and ministers and rabbis could work early and late, and serve in reality as these men in Nova Scotia are doing, a new order would be quickly developed, based upon the very foundation principles of the Christian faith. Each of the 91 people who went to Nova Scotia this summer came away with this conviction, and with the deep determination to strive for the development of the cooperative principle in their own communities.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Dean Hale, of Buffalo, Goes to Boston Church

Rev. Samuel W. Hale, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, Buffalo, N. Y., has accepted a call to the Church of the Advent, Boston, effective Nov. 28.

Churchmen Differ On Ways to Peace

World Alliance to Promote International Friendship Through Churches Divided on Boycott and Sanctions

(Correspondence from New England)

BOSTON, Nov. 11.—Armistice Day—and bloody wars in Spain and in China threaten to involve all nations! The World Alliance to Promote International Friendship, which has just met in this city, was compelled to ask what can be done to stop actual aggression and unspeakable suffering. Not only did this "Good Will Congress" have to face the fact of a world torn by mutual resentment and hatred, but also the painful discovery that every definite proposal to meet the situation encountered vigorous protest from some of its own members.

"Let us bring the aggressor nation to terms by an economic boycott!"

"No! That involves the cultivation of hate and the risk of war!"

"If nations refuse to abide by their agreement to settle disputes by pacific means, they will heed nothing but force: let the peace-loving nations combine with a strength which will compel them to desist!"

"No! Have we not learned that a war to end war breeds new wars?"

"At least, let us condemn the aggressor."

"You cannot indict a whole people. Let us not create new international misunderstandings!"

When the peacemakers fail to agree, must we not confess the futility of every effort and abandon hope? Yet it can no longer be said that peace advocates are not realists.

* * *

Claim Religion Sees Real Cause of War

"We are in the grip of the ethics of nationalism," said Dr. Harold C. Phillips. "The first commandment is not 'Believe in God,' but 'Thou shall have no *other gods.*' When the nation is made a god, it has no moral obligation. The loyalty is admirable; its object lamentable. Idolatry of the nation makes the individual of no account. Faith in the true God assures the rights of all men. Christianity holds that he has been revealed in a supreme human personality. Communism and fascism, with all their denials, confess the truth by their exaltation of their leaders." Rabbi Edward L. Israel followed: "Dr. Phillips' allusion to Christ appealed to my religious feeling as a Jew. Religion alone implements democracy and peace." Such, said Bishop G. Ashton Oldham the chairman, is the basis of the World Alliance "because it believes that peace can never come from man's clever devising alone. It needs a spiritual dynamic which religion only can supply. We behold false religions in certain countries engendering a fanatical enthusiasm for war. Why should not true religion engender a similar enthusiasm for peace?"

* * *

Debate Ethics Of Sanctions

The triangular debate on sanctions in The Christian Century of Nov. 10 well illustrated the main issue discussed here. Lord Cecil said to your representative: "I have read it, and I agree with Dr. Jones and Dr. Niebuhr. Sanctions against Italy were proving effective, but when Ethiopia had apparently been conquered, they were dropped." To the distinguished gathering at the banquet, Ambassador Wang reviewed Japan's aggressions in China. Viscount Cecil held that the New Testament does not exclude the use of force. Actions are wrong not in themselves but in their motives. Unjust war is the worst of crimes; but for the peace-loving nations to stand together to stop aggression is neither wrong nor hopeless, as the speedy result of the Neon agreement proved.

Sen. James P. Pope of Idaho said: "Civilization is always in danger. It is safest, when as now, the danger is realized. The United States has taken advantage of its situation to keep out of war. But Americans are generous and 95 per cent sympathize with China. Aggression is realized to be a danger to all. If war spreads it makes neutrality impossible. Therefore, we must have unentangling alliances like the Pan-American Union. As President Roosevelt said at Chicago, "We must affirmatively act for peace."

* * *

Absolutists and 'Realists'

As the banquet broke up, a staunch pacifist was heard to say: "A peace meeting? It was a war meeting!" At the close of the round table on "Building the World Community," Prof. Norman B. Nash, presiding, observed that for at least 1,700 years the Christian church has been divided into absolutists and relativists. Can we demand that the uncompromising ideals of Christ be immediately applied by the organs of society? As at Oxford, so at Boston, the place of both views in the church was recognized. The majority seemed to feel that if we take the absolutist position, we make organized effort for peace impossible. Senator Pope answered the objection that, since the nations have all been guilty of aggression they cannot without hypocrisy act together against an aggressor, by the analogy

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of vigilance committees which gave law and order to the once "wild West." Others pointed out that "have-not" nations need not attack others: Denmark has found a better road to prosperity. The round table on Economic Adjustments found agreement difficult: yet the necessity of juster distribution of the resources of the earth was obvious.

* * *

Resolutions Ask Loosening Of Neutrality Law

Yet these very difficulties reveal the moral progress already made. Wars are undeclared: is this because the Paris Pact has made war illegal? The Christian conscience has become so sensitive that some protest against the use of force even in concerted effort to secure peace. It was pointed out that it is not the ideals embodied in the league, but the nations and we, the peoples of the world, that have failed. The resolutions finally adopted "urged our government to cooperative effort to stop aggression"; favored a change in the neutrality law authorizing the President "to lift the embargo from the nation agreeing to accept a peaceful settlement"; and supported "continued and increasing cooperation with the League of Nations and adherence to the World Court." They protested against race prejudice, restrictions on civil and religious liberty, and military training in schools and colleges. The President was urged to cooperate in calling a world conference on economic justice.

* * *

Stress Importance of Councils of Churches

If international friendship is ever to be established through the churches, the conference decided, "the members of every church should become intelligent as to relations with other nations." Every proposal should be considered, even those of "the New Commonwealth" for "an international equity tribunal and police force." "There should be a peace committee in every church." The Massachusetts Council of Churches, which met jointly with the alliance, recommended a similar program to its constituency. It reinforced its appeal for needed adjustments and cooperation in every community by stressing the fact that a World Council of Churches is now being organized. Study of and action against the evils of alcoholism, gambling and monopolistic control of motion pictures, were also included in its program. The transformation of the Vermont Council of Religious Education into a comprehensive council of churches is now announced. Thus the churches of five of our six states are organized interdenominationally.

E. Tallmadge Root.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by th National Film Estimate Service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

Hot Water

(Jed Prouty, Spring Byington) (Fox) Pleasing addition to the Jones Family series, realistic in characters, incidents and family life. Mr. Jones is elected mayor on the reform ticket after exposing crookedness of his opponent with aid of his two boys. Wholesome family entertainment.

For A: Fair. For Y, and C: Good.

In the Far East

(Russian, English Titles) (Amkino) Be-

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wildering, incoherent melodrama of espionage in a Soviet camp on the eastern border between Siberia and Manchukuo, where preparations are made to blast road through mountains despite Japanese and Trotsky spies. Little story or character value.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Poor. For C: No.

It's Love I'm After

(Leslie Howard, B. Davis) (Warner) Delightful, gay satiric comedy, expertly directed, acted. Clever dialog, brisk tempo, and very amusing situations as actor-hero tries to disillusion infatuated debutante who brazenly pursues him, and almost loses his leading lady, whom he really loves.

For A: Very entertaining. For Y: Sophisticated. For C: No.

The Lady Fights Back

(Irene Hervey, Kent Taylor) (Universal) Engineer-hero, and heroine operating fine fishing club, battle over proposed dam construction which will cut off salmon supply. Situation solved by "salmon ladder" arrangement. Thin, lightly amusing, farfetched. Appealing backgrounds.

For A: Hardly. For Y: Fairly good. For C: Doubtful interest.

Live, Love and Learn

(Montgomery, Russell, Benchley) (MGM) Smoothly acted combination of breezy, exaggerated, sophisticated whimsy, slapstick and serious drama. Penniless artist, catapulted to fame and riches, temporarily loses sense of values and his wife; recovers both before too much damage done.

For A: Amusing of kind. For Y: Probably entertaining. For C: No.

Partners in Crime

(Lynne Overman, Roscoe Karns, Muriel Hutchinson) (Paramount) Cheap and thoroughly unsavory mess, aptly titled, offered as comedy, and peopled by undesirable and disreputable characters concerned in blackmailing, crooked politics and generally distasteful goings-on.

For A, Y, and C: Stupid.

Merry-Go-Round of 1938

(Lahr, Savo, Auer, et al) (Univ) Crazy, hilarious stuff made thoroughly funny by able performers and direction. Substantial, human story of vaudeville quartette's devotion to their adopted daughter, deftly interwoven with good comedy acts and song numbers. Clean fun.

For A, and Y: Very good of kind. For C: Probably amusing.

Return of Maxim

(Russian, English Titles) (Amkino) Second in trilogy of propaganda films glorifying early Bolshevist party. Complex and slow-moving, finely acted. Vividly portrays activities of secret organizers and Bolshevist press, striking workers, mass marching, riots, grim deaths for "the cause."

For A: Interesting. For Y: If it interests. For C: No.

Best Family Films

Make a Wish
Thin Ice
100 Men and a Girl
Heidi
Hoosier Schoolboy
Over the Goal

Best Films for Adults

Life of Emile Zola
Dead End
High, Wide and Handsome
The Prisoner of Zenda
Baltic Deputy
The Perfect Specimen

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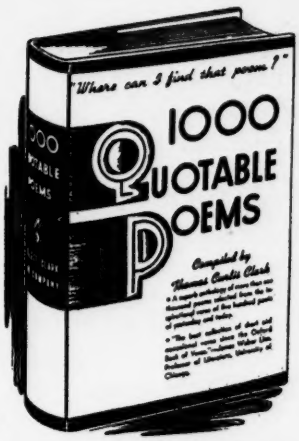

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